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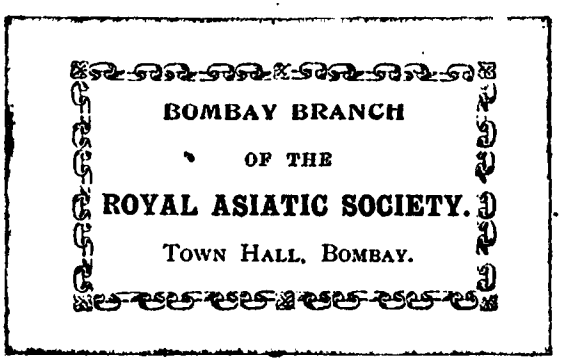

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JOURNEY

THROUGH

ARABIA PETRÆA,

TO

MOUNT SINAI,

AND

THE EXCAVATED CITY OF PETRA,

THE EDOM OF THE PROPHECIES.

BY

85845

M. LÉON DE LABORDE.

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LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
MDCCCXXXVI.

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MAP OF
ARABIA PETREA.
by
LEON DE LABORDE.
ARABIA PETRÆA
Desert El Tyh or of the Wandering
El Tih Mountains
RED
SEA
Cairo
Suez
Mount Sinai
Mount Horeb
Petra
Mount Hor
Gulf of Suez
Gulf of Akaba
Dead Sea
Jordan
Wady Arabah
Wady El Ghor
Mount Seir
Mount Pisgah
Mount Nebo
Jericho
Hebron
Gaza
Rafah
El Arish
Pelusium
Lake Serbonis
Lake Menzaleh
Lake Timsah
Bitter Lakes
Suez Canal
Nile
Delta
Rosetta
Damietta
Alexandria
Mediterranean Sea
Red Sea
Gulf of Akaba
Gulf of Suez
Arabian Gulf
Persian Gulf
Euphrates
Tigris
Mesopotamia
Babylon
Bagdad
Bassora
Mecca
Medina
Yambo
Jidda
Aden
Muscat
Ormuz
Persepolis
Shiraz
Ispahan
Teheran
Caspian Sea
Mount Ararat
Mount Caucasus
Black Sea
Constantinople
Smyrna
Rhodes
Cyprus
Candia
Malta
Sicily
Naples
Rome
Venice
Vienna
Trieste
Corfu
Athens
Thebes
Sparta
Corinth
Patras
Zante
Cephalonia
Ithaca
Missolonghi
Lepanto
Gulf of Lepanto
Gulf of Corinth
Gulf of Patras
Gulf of Arcadia
Gulf of Coron
Gulf of Kolokythia
Gulf of Nauplia
Gulf of Egina
Gulf of Salonica
Gulf of Volo
Gulf of Zeitun
Gulf of Arta
Gulf of Venice
Gulf of Lyons
Gulf of Genoa
Gulf of Taranto
Gulf of Sidra
Gulf of Cabes
Gulf of Tunis
Gulf of Hammamet
Gulf of Bona
Gulf of Stora
Gulf of Algiers
Gulf of Tenes
Gulf of Oran
Gulf of Arzew
Gulf of Mostaganem
Gulf of Bougie
Gulf of Gigeri
Gulf of Collo
Gulf of Tabarca
Gulf of Cagliari
Gulf of Palermo
Gulf of Trapani
Gulf of Girgenti
Gulf of Augusta
Gulf of Catania
Gulf of Messina
Gulf of Gaeta
Gulf of Salerno
Gulf of Policastro
Gulf of Manfredonia
Gulf of Trieste
Gulf of Fiume
Gulf of Quarnero
Gulf of Cattaro
Gulf of Durazzo
Gulf of Valona
Gulf of Arta
Gulf of Patras
Gulf of Lepanto
Gulf of Corinth
Gulf of Egina
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Gulf of Coron
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Gulf of Cattaro
Gulf of Durazzo
Gulf of Valona
32° Longitude East of Greenwich
33°
34°
35°
30°
29°
28°
Published by John Murray Albemarle Street London 1st April 1826.

32°
Tenneh Lakes
Abou el Chaib
Tel el Srayer
Belbeis
Remains of the ancient Canal
Ruins of Heliopolis
Turbet el Wadi Fort
Plain of Mogrub
Djafre
Wa Hadjim
Arbarvood
CAIRO
30°
Baharait Arabs
Suez
Wadey el Tih or of the Wandering
Djebel el Gnebroun
Djebel Attaka
Ras Attakas
Fountain
Ras Mesarra
Plain of Et
Wr Ramlieh
Ras abou Deradjeh
Convent of St John Climacus
Djebel Zafranch
Djeb Dorfa
Monastery of St Anthony
Monastery of St Paul
Mt Agrib
Wady
Hor
PETRA
SABKA
El Zadeke Ra
Deserted Vill
Reservoir
Jebel el Betra
Source of Curnan
Jebel Telage
Jebel el Hachab
Jeb Onmeachrin
Rom. Roman
Abounara
29°
28°
British Statute Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60
MAP OF
ARABIA PETRÆA.
by
LEON DE LABORDE.
32° Longitude East of Greenwich
J.E.C. Walker. Sculpt.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE work, of which the greater portion of the following pages forms a translation, must be considered as one of the most interesting and valuable accessions to archaiological literature, that have recently issued from the continental press. It presents to us ample living evidence of the fulfilment of prophecies delivered nearly three thousand years ago, and at the same time discloses to our view scenes, ruins, manners, costume, still almost wholly scriptural in their character. Idumea, to which, from the rocky nature of its territory, later ages have given the name of Arabia Petræa, was the cradle of the primitive generations of mankind. There the sciences and arts were first cultivated;—there great commercial enterprises were carried on

with success, before the merchants of Tyre or Sidon had emerged from the rank of fishermen;—there the true God was known and worshipped, and the creations of his hand were appreciated, and described in language that has not yet been rivalled, at a period when the Jews were in bondage, and idolatry and ignorance reigned in every other part of the peopled regions of the earth. But upon that once favoured land a malediction of the most awful description was pronounced: from the height of worldly prosperity it was doomed to fall into the most abject state of wretchedness and desolation,—of desolation from which it is never to revive.

As far as we can collect from the sacred text, the nature of the crimes which had called down from the Omnipotent this peculiar and unalterable expression of his anger, they would seem to resolve themselves into numerous acts of treachery and hostility, which the Idumeans, or the Edomites, as they are indiscriminately called, had committed at different periods against the descendants of Jacob. The former, who were the posterity of Esau, by acting on many occa-

sions as the bitter and unrelenting enemies of the Jews, thus incurred the guilt of fratricide — a crime of which the Creator had already shown, in the punishment he inflicted on Cain, a marked and immitigable reprobation.

Hence we read in Obadiah:—"For thy violence against *thy brother* Jacob shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be *cut off for ever.*

"In the day that thou stoodest on the other side, in the day that the strangers carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, even thou wast as one of them.

"But thou shouldest not have looked on the day of thy brother, in the day that he became a stranger; neither shouldest thou have rejoiced over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction; neither shouldest thou have spoken proudly in the day of distress."[a]

"And the house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau for stubble, and they shall kindle in them, and devour them; and there

[a] Obadiah, 10—12.

shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau." [a]

So also we read in Ezekiel :—" Thus saith the Lord God, *Because that Edom hath dealt against the house of Judah by taking vengeance*, and hath greatly offended, and revenged himself upon them ;

" Therefore thus saith the Lord God, I will also stretch out mine hand upon Edom, and will cut off man and beast from it ; and I will make it desolate from Teman ; and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword. [b]

The same prophet thus further enlarges upon the same awful theme ; —

" Because thou hast said, These two nations, and these two countries, shall be mine, and we will possess it, whereas the LORD was there :

" Therefore, as I live, saith the Lord God, I will even do according to thine anger, and according to thine envy, which thou hast used out of thy hatred against them ; and I will make myself known among them, when I have judged thee.

[a] Obadiah, 18. [b] Ezekiel, xxv. 12, 13.

"And thou shalt know that I am the Lord, and that I have heard thy blasphemies which thou hast spoken against the mountains of Israel, saying, They are laid desolate, they are given us to consume."[a]

"As thou didst rejoice at the inheritance of the house of Israel, because it was desolate, so will I do unto thee: thou shalt be desolate, O Mount Seir, and all Idumea, even all of it; and they shall know that I am the Lord."[b]

"The Idumeans," says Keith, "often contended with the Israelites, and entered into a league with their other enemies against them. In the reign of David they were indeed subdued, and greatly oppressed; and many of them dispersed throughout the neighbouring countries, particularly Phœnicia and Egypt. But during the decline of the kingdom of Judah, and for many years previous to its extinction, they encroached upon the territories of the Jews, and extended their dominion over the south-western part of Judæa."[c] The earliest token of hostility

[a] Ezekiel, xxxv. 10—12.
[b] Ibid. 15.
[c] Keith on the Prophecies, pp. 186, 187.

which the Idumeans showed to the Jews is that recorded in the book of Numbers. Moses had sent messengers from Kadesh, on the borders of Idumea, where the Israelites had then arrived on their way to the promised land, to the king of Edom, praying permission to pass through his territory. The answer was, "Thou shalt not pass by me, lest I come out against thee with the sword.

"And the children of Israel said unto him, We will go by the high way; and if I and my cattle drink of thy water, then I will pay for it: I will only (without doing any thing else) go through on my feet.

"And he said, Thou shalt not go through. And Edom came out against him with much people, and with a strong hand."[a]

Thus the king of Edom refused to give his "brother Israel[b]" a passage through his territory; "wherefore," adds the sacred writer, "Israel turned away from him."[c]

Thus, to the unnatural hatred existing on the part of the Edomites against the Jews,

[a] Numbers, xx. 18—20.
[b] Ib. 14. [c] Ib. 21.

the former added the crime of blasphemy, in setting themselves up against the course of penance and final purification which the Creator had prescribed for his chosen people. It would even seem that the utter and irrecoverable desolation to which the Idumean territory was condemned, was intended to prove to the Jewish people, that, notwithstanding their crimes, their enemies were to be treated as the enemies of the Lord; that he watched over the house of Israel with a jealous love which no errors could efface; and that the very ruins which the descendants of that house may now behold in Arabia Petræa, though destitute of hope for Edom, exhibit, in letters of light, the affectionate promise, that Judea is yet to rise from her misery to more than her primeval splendour. The emphatic contrast at this day actually subsisting between these two countries bordering on each other,—one sentenced to desolation, from which it is manifestly never to recover, the other chastised by adversity which is as manifestly one day to have an end,—becomes one of the clearest, as well as the most wonderful, evidences of the truth of the holy writings, and of the divinity of

the Spirit by which the prophecies were dictated. The coincidence found to exist between what the prophets foretold, and travellers and historians have witnessed or recorded, as to the condition of Edom, is still more decisive as to the origin of those terrible denunciations. Let the words of the prediction be compared with the reports of those who have borne testimony to its fulfilment.

Prophecy.	*Fulfilment.*
"I will stretch out my hand upon Edom, — and will make it desolate from Teman." — Ezekiel, xxv. 13.	"In many places it (Petræa) is overgrown with wild herbs, and must once have been thickly inhabited; for the traces of many towns and villages are met with on both sides of the Hadj road, between Mâan and Akaba, as well as between Maan and the plains of Hauran, in which direction are also many springs. At present *all this country is a desert*, and Maan (Teman) is the only inhabited place in it."—*Burckhardt's Travels in Syria*, p. 436.
"And he shall stretch out upon it (Idumea) the line of confusion, and the *stones* of *emptiness*." — Isaiah, xxxiv. 11.	"On ascending the western plain (of Idumea), on a higher level than that of Arabia, we had before us an immense ex-

Prophecy.

"If grape-gatherers come to thee, would they not leave some gleaning grapes? If thieves by night, they will destroy till they have enough. But I have made Esau bare." —Jeremiah, xlix. 9, 10.

"And Edom shall be a desolation."—Jeremiah, xlix. 17.

"Behold, O Mount Seir, I am against thee, and I will stretch out mine hand against thee, and I will make thee most desolate.

"I will lay thy cities waste." —Ezekiel, xxxv. 3, 4.

"I will make thee perpetual desolations, and thy cities shall not return."—Ezekiel, xxxv. 9.

Fulfilment.

panse of dreary country, entirely covered with *black flints*." —*Burckhardt, Syria*, p. 444.

"The whole plain presented to the view an expanse of shifting sands, whose surface was broken by innumerable undulations and low hills."—"And the Arabs told me that the valleys continue to present the same appearance beyond the latitude of Wady Mousa (Petra). In some parts of the valley the sand is very deep, and there is not the slightest appearance of a road or of any work of human art. A few trees grow among the sand hills, but the *depth of sand* precludes all vegetation of herbage. The sand which thus covers the ancient cultivated soil appears to have *been brought from the shores of the Red Sea*, by the southern winds."—*Burckhardt*, p. 442.

"The following ruined places are situated in *Djebal Shera* (Mount Seir), to the south and south-west of Wady Mousa (Petra), Kalaat, Djerba, Basta, Eyl, Ferdakh, Anyk, Bir el Beytar, Shemakh, and Syk. Of the towns laid down in D'Anville's map, (viz. Elusa, Tamara, Zoara, Thoana, Necta,

Prophecy.

"Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, and the pride of thine heart, O thou that dwellest *in the clefts of the rock*, that holdest the *height of the hill*; though thou shouldest make thy nest *as high as the eagle*, I will bring thee down from thence, saith the Lord." — Jeremiah, xlix. 16.

Fulfilment.

Phenon, Suzuma, Carcaria, Oboda, Berzumma, Lysa, Gypsaria, Zodocata, Gerasa, Havara, Presidium ad Dianum, Œlana, and Asion Gaber,) Thoana excepted, *no traces remain*." — *Burckhardt*, pp. 443, 444.

"The ruins of the city (Petra) here burst on the view, in their full grandeur, shut in on the opposite side by barren craggy precipices, from which numerous ravines and valleys branch out in all directions: the sides of the mountains covered with an endless variety of excavated tombs and private dwellings, presented altogether the most singular spectacle we ever beheld."— *Captains Irby and Mangles*, p. 422.

"The name of this capital, in all the various languages in which it occurs, implies a *rock*, and as such it is described in the Scriptures, in Strabo, and Al Edrissi."— *Vincent, Commerce of the Ancients*, vol. ii. p. 264.

"The barren state of the country, together with the desolate condition of the city, without a single human being living near it, seem strongly to

Prophecy.	*Fulfilment.*
	verify the judgment denounced against it."—*Irby and Mangles*, p. 439.
"I will make thee small among the heathen." — Jeremiah, xlix. 15.	"When Mr. Bankes applied, at Constantinople, to have Kerek and Wady Mousa (Petra) inserted in his firman, they returned for answer, 'that they knew of none such within the Grand Seignor's dominions.'" — *Irby and Mangles*, p. 336.
"I will make thee despised among men." — Jeremiah, Ib.	"The Arabs, who show through their monotonous life little feeling for the vicissitudes of empires, have given this ruin (of a temple) a ridiculous, indeed an indecent name, which has no connection whatever with its original destination, and yet seems not ill applied to it in its state of decay: to prove the utter fragility of our works, besides the injury capable of being wrought by time, only one thing more is wanting — *the ridicule of mankind.*" — *Laborde*, pp. 155, 156.
"Concerning Edom, thus saith the Lord of hosts, Is wisdom no more in Teman? Is counsel perished from the prudent? Is their wisdom vanished?"—Jeremiah, xlix. 7.	"But if the question now be asked, Is understanding perished out of Edom? the answer may be briefly given. The minds of the Bedouins are as uncultivated as the deserts they traverse. The simple

Prophecy.

Fulfilment.

but significant fact, that the clearing away of a 'little rubbish, merely to allow the water to flow' into an ancient cistern, in order to render it useful to themselves, 'is an undertaking far beyond the views of the wandering Arabs,' shows that *understanding* is indeed *perished from among them*." —*Keith*, p. 221.

"They look," continues Keith, "upon a European traveller as a magician, and believe, that having seen any spot where they imagine that treasures are deposited, 'he can afterwards command the guardian of the treasure to set the whole before him.'" [a]

"And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof." — Jeremiah, xxxiv. 13.

"It was truly a strange spectacle, — a city filled with tombs, some scarcely begun, some finished, looking as new and as fresh as if they had just come from the hands of the sculptor; while others seemed to be the abode of lizards, fallen into ruin, and *covered with brambles*." — *Laborde*, p. 157.

"The owl also and the raven shall dwell in it."—Isaiah, xxxiv. 11.

"The screaming of the eagles, hawks, and owls, who soaring above our heads in considerable numbers, seemingly

[a] Burckhardt, p. 429.

Prophecy.

"And there shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau."—Obadiah, 18.

Fulfilment.

annoyed at any one approaching their habitation, added much to the singularity of the scene." *Irby and Mangles*, p. 413.

"The Idumeans were soon after the commencement of the Christian era mingled with the Nabatheans. In the third century their language was disused, and their very name, as designating any people, had utterly perished[a]; and their country itself having become an outcast from Syria, among whose kingdoms it had long been numbered, was united to Arabia Petræa, while the posterity of Jacob had been 'dispersed in every country under heaven,' and are 'scattered among all nations,' and have ever remained distinct from them all; and while it is also declared that "a full end will never be made of them;' the Edomites, though they existed as a nation for more than seventeen hundred years, have, as a period of nearly equal duration has proved, *been cut off for ever*; and while Jews are in every land, there is not any remaining, on any spot of earth, of *the house of Esau*."—*Keith*, p. 232.

[a] Origen, lib. iii. in Job.

"Whereas Edom saith: 'We are impoverished—but we will return and build the desolate places;' then said the Lord of Hosts: They shall build, but I will throw down! And your eyes shall see, and you shall say, The Lord will be magnified from the borders of Israel." — Malachi, i. 3, 4.

"The order of the architecture shews that the citizens of Petra did build after the era of the prophets, while the fragments of ruins of Grecian and Roman architecture, as well as of more ancient date, which are strewed over the ground, shows that those buildings, whose doom was pronounced before their erection, have, according to the same sure words, been thrown down."—*Keith*, p. 212.

"It is surprising to reflect that monuments of so vast a scale should be executed *subsequent to the Roman conquest.* In the approach to this tomb there were arched substructions of great extent, *now fallen into ruins.*"—*Irby and Mangles*, p. 430.

These are but a few of the parallel passages which might be cited from the prophets and the pages of travellers and historians with reference to Idumea. The reader, as he proceeds in the perusal of the following work, will be enabled to collect from it other traits of scenery, marking the terrible desolation to which the whole of that devoted territory is condemned. "When the whole earth re-

joiceth," says Ezekiel[a], "I will make thee desolate." The observations of M. de Laborde show that there is in fact no hope left for that part of Asia; that it is at present a complete wilderness, stricken with barrenness and misery of every description; that the few natives to be found there are wretched in the extreme, covered with disease, and actuated by a propensity to plunder, which must deter travellers, who cannot afford to be well escorted, from visiting that region.

M. Léon de Laborde is the son of the Count Alexandre de Laborde, well known for his sumptuous and valuable works on Spain, Austria, &c. M. Léon de Laborde has distinguished himself equally as an enterprising traveller, a diligent antiquarian, and a skilful artist, since not only are the greater part of the Illustrations taken from his own drawings, but many of the engravings in the original work are executed by his own hand.

M. de Laborde's book, which was published in Paris, in the year 1830, is in a large folio

[a] xxxv. 14.

size. It is very elegantly printed; and the illustrations, about seventy in number, by which it is accompanied, are extremely well executed. Of these the greater number are lithographed; the others are wood cuts; and the volume is highly creditable to the French press. It is, however, from its unwieldy size and its expensive form, inaccessible to general readers.

The volume now before the reader differs from that of M. de Laborde in several particulars. In the first place, I found it necessary to prefix to his matter two chapters comprising an account of ancient Idumea, as far as I could collect it from authentic sources; and a summary of the remarks made upon Petra by the few travellers who had preceded Messrs. de Laborde and Linant in the toil of examining the marvellous remains of that once magnificent capital. Secondly, I have endeavoured to exhibit, in one continuous narrative, the whole of the details which the author had scattered through a preface, an introduction, an explanation of the plates, and a sort of itinerary, which is confined to the route from Suez to Akaba.

This narrative I have occasionally illustrated by notes from the interesting productions of Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles*, and Sir F. Henniker. Some incidental dissertations not intimately connected with the main object of the publication, I have omitted or abridged, with a view to render the work somewhat more attractive to the general reader than it probably would have been, had I confined my labours to a mere version of the original.

But I should not have done justice to M. de Laborde, had I concluded this preface without acknowledging, that to him we are indebted for the only minute account of the ruins of the Idumean capital which has been as yet presented to the public—an account obtained by him under many serious difficulties and no ordinary privations and dangers. The enthusiastic spirit of enterprise by which he was led to explore that country cannot be

* The Letters of Captains Irby and Mangles have never been published, though they have been printed and privately circulated for several years. They are very valuable compositions, characterised throughout by a degree of modesty which sheds around them a peculiar grace.

too warmly applauded. It well entitles him to be ranked among the most courageous, as well as the most instructive, of modern travellers.

THE TRANSLATOR.

London, 14*th May*, 1836.

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ARABIA PETRÆA.

FORMER OSMANLI COSTUME.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER I.

ORIENTAL CIVILISATION. — ARABIA PETRÆA. — PROHIBITION AGAINST ENTERING IT. — REMARKS OF VOLNEY. — THE NABATHEANS. — IDUMEA. — ITS FORMER SPLENDOUR. — IDUMEAN SOVEREIGNS. — PASSAGE REFUSED TO THE ISRAELITES. — PRIMEVAL STATE OF IDUMEA. — THE WAR HORSE. — KNOWLEDGE OF THE IDUMEANS. — THEIR NOTION OF THE DEITY. — THEIR RELIGION. — THEIR POWER. — GEOGRAPHY OF IDUMEA. — ITS CAPITAL. — ANCIENT AUTHORS. — PLINY'S ACCOUNT OF PETRA. — VINCENT'S VIEW OF ITS COMMERCE.

THE lover of Oriental manners and costume no longer derives, from a sojourn at Cairo, the same

entertainment which he might have experienced there some few years ago. Innovation has already pervaded every order of society. The economist may, indeed, feel satisfaction in observing that the city of the caliphs, connected with so many historical and traditional associations, has resumed, after many centuries of wretchedness and degradation, some appearance of its former wealth and splendour; and that its inhabitants are returning once more to those sciences and arts, for the cultivation of which they were, in past ages, so eminently distinguished. But the traveller of unsophisticated imagination beholds, with any feeling rather than that of delight, the changes which our modern inventions have wrought in that country; the magnificent palm trees, so characteristic of Egypt, cut down, in order to afford sufficient space for camps and military evolutions; or their brilliant foliage deprived of all picturesque effect, by being intermixed with our newly imported forges, bellows, and anvils. To him it would afford no satisfaction to find the once stately Turks surrendering their venerable beard, exchanging for the shapeless red cap their ample turbans, and preferring the round jacket or frock-coat of the Franks, in which they strut about so awkwardly, to their own ancient robes, that fell around the figure in such graceful and majestic folds.

All these changes may, indeed, lead the way to civilisation. Nevertheless, I have seldom passed through the streets of Cairo without regretting that any circumstances should have compelled the

wild Arabian, whose mantle seemed suspended in air, while he galloped across the desert before some noble cavalier; those sheiks, clothed in long silk pelisses and woollen cloaks, who with so much ease seated themselves on their divans; those fine Osmanlis whose costume I wore at Aleppo and Damascus, but which was already superannuated at Cairo; to substitute, for their rich and becoming attire, the curtailed and disfiguring apparel which the introduction of our military organisation necessarily demands. In truth, it is only at Damascus or Bagdad, at Orfa or Konieh, that the Oriental character and costume are now to be found; Cairo presenting a general appearance almost as European, in these respects, as Constantinople itself.

Before my arrival in Egypt I had explored all Asia Minor, as well as the most interesting parts of Syria, intending, if possible, to discover a practicable route from the latter country to Arabia Petræa, the great object of all my labours. I tried in vain to find my way thither from Bosra, in the Hauran, and also from Jericho, in company with the fine tribe of the Adouans. They were, unfortunately, then at war with the Benisakers, which raised insuperable obstacles to my further progress in that quarter. Having resolved to see what could be done on the side of Egypt, I established myself for a while at Cairo, to study the Arabian language, and to wait the chance of some favourable opportunity for effecting my purpose, either through the

kind interposition of the Pacha, or the assistance of some of the neighbouring tribes, whom I hoped to propitiate in my favour.

The expedition was one that required not only some nerve, but much prudent preparation. The district comprehended within the proper boundaries of Arabia Petræa may be considered as the cradle of the world. Until a few years ago it had been almost entirely forgotten. Vague traditions only had diffused the belief that a city still existed there which surpassed in extent and magnificence the queen of the desert, the celebrated Palmyra. The tribes who dwelt at some distance around it, influenced by absurd prejudices which they had inherited from their forefathers, cautiously abstained from visiting it themselves, and absolutely forbade its approach to others. The prohibition announced by Edom to Israel, "*Thou shalt not go through*," seemed destined never to be removed.

Even in the time of Volney Arabia Petræa had not been visited by any traveller. The Arabs of Bakir, and the inhabitants of Gaza, who frequently traversed the road of the pilgrims to Maan and Kerek, reported that within three days' journey to the south-east of the Dead Sea, there were upwards of thirty ruined towns absolutely deserted. Some of these towns they described as distinguished by large edifices, decorated with numerous columns. Upon rare occasions the Arabs, it was said, made use of those buildings as places of refuge for their cattle, but in general they avoided them, on ac-

count of the enormous scorpions with which they swarmed.

The country thus described was once the residence of the Nabatheans, also called Idumeans, the most powerful of the Arabians, who, at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, were almost as numerous as the Jews. Josephus informs us, that, on the first rumour of the march of Titus against that capital, thirty thousand Idumeans instantly assembled, and threw themselves into that city for its defence. This number of efficient soldiers presupposes the existence of a very considerable population.

It appears, moreover, as Volney adds, that the district in question, from the earliest times, enjoyed a tolerably good government, and a large proportion of the commerce of Arabia and India. As far back as the time of Solomon, the cities of Esion-Gaber, and Eloth, were highly frequented marts. The latter still retains its name on the neighbouring gulf of the Red Sea, and the former is presumed to be identical with El Akaba (the end of the sea), where there is still a small fort, now in the possession of the Pacha of Egypt. The Idumean ports, which were occasionally taken possession of by the Jews, appear to have furnished them with great wealth, and to have been extremely populous. The Idumeans rivalled even the Tyrians in commercial enterprize. The latter possessed a town, the name of which is unknown, on the coast of Hedjaz, in the Desert of Tih ; also, the city of Feran, and, it is believed, El-Tor, on the

eastern shore of the Gulf of Suez, whence caravans might reach Palestine and Judea, through Idumea, in eight or ten days; or Bassorah, by a route infinitely shorter than that which was universally adopted from Aleppo to the Gulf of Persia.

The evidence thus collected by Volney, therefore, distinctly shows, as Keith very well observes, that the Idumeans were a populous and powerful nation, long posterior to the delivery of the very remarkable prophecies concerning them recorded in Scripture; that they possessed a settled government; that Idumea contained many cities; that these cities have long been absolutely deserted, and have swarmed with enormous scorpions; that Idumea was eminent as a commercial nation; and that, although it offered a much shorter route to India from the Mediterranean than the one ordinarily adopted, yet it had not been visited down to his (Volney's) time by any traveller. This literal fulfilment of the prophecies, even according to the unconscious testimony of a writer who disbelieved in the Revelation, leads one, with no small degree of curiosity, into a more extensive review of the ancient state of Idumea, as we find it recorded in history.

We learn from Genesis[a], that, "before any king reigned over Israel," no fewer than eight kings had succeeded each other in the government of the "Land of Edom," or Idumea; and that these kings were followed by eleven dukes, the descend-

[a] Gen. xxxvi. 31—43.

ants of Esau, "the father of the Edomites." The fertility of its territory was announced in the blessing given by Isaac to Esau: "Behold thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above."[a] Its highly cultivated state appears, moreover, from the description given of it by the messengers of Moses, when they requested permission for the Israelites to pass through Edom, in their way from Egypt to the promised land: — "Let us pass, I pray thee, through thy country: we will not pass through the *fields*, or through the *vineyards*, neither will we drink of the water of the *wells*: we will go by the *king's highway*: we will not turn to the right hand, nor to the left, until we have passed thy borders. And Edom said unto him, Thou shalt not pass by me, lest I come out against thee with the sword. And the children of Israel said unto him, We will go by the highway: and if I and my cattle drink of thy water, then will I pay for it. I will only (without doing anything else) go through on my feet. And he said, Thou shalt not go through. And Edom came out against him with *much people*, and with a *strong hand*. Thus Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border: wherefore Israel turned away from him."[b]

The great wealth possessed by Job, an inhabitant of that country, at a period probably still more remote even than the visit of the Israelites, proves that Idumea had then been long settled. Indeed, the

[a] Gen. xxxvii. 39. [b] Numbers, xx. 17—21.

whole of the beautiful composition in which his trials are recorded, displays a state of society in which a gradation of classes was acknowledged, the sciences were cultivated, the fine arts were not unknown, luxury prevailed to a very considerable extent, the operations of war had been reduced to order, commerce by sea and land had been carried on with foreign countries, and almost all the ordinary mechanical trades, with which we are now acquainted, afforded occupation to numerous families. Fourteen thousand sheep, six thousand camels, a thousand yoke of oxen, and a thousand asses, not only bespoke the princely rank of Job, but also indicated his extensive territorial possessions, oxen being principally employed, in the East, in ploughing the soil and treading out the corn.

We learn from the calamities which that virtuous man suffered in the early period of his life, that at one time Uz, or Idumea, his native place, was subject to the incursions of the Sabeans and Chaldeans; but, from a variety of circumstances, we may infer that, with such occasional exceptions, the country in general enjoyed tranquillity and a high state of prosperity. The year and the months were regularly defined. Kings and other great men had been accustomed to build for themselves splendid tombs.[a] They possessed great wealth in gold and silver.[b] Traditions even then prevailed concerning treasures *anciently* concealed in the earth.[c] The vicissitudes of famine brought on by

[a] Job, iii. 14. [b] iii. 15. [c] iii. 21.

war, which prevented the people from attending to their usual agricultural pursuits, were not unfamiliar to the age.[a] They were acquainted with the use of scales [b], and the weaver's shuttle [c]; they made cheese from milk [d]; their gardens were protected by ground traps and snares [e]; they were accustomed to cut inscriptions on tablets, which were fixed with lead in the faces of rocks [f]; they had steel bows for their archers [g]; their arrows were kept in quivers; and they bore in battle the spear and shield [h], as well as the sword.[i] The combat was animated by the sounds of the trumpet. The war horse of Idumea, in those days, is finely described as having "his neck clothed with thunder."

"Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper? The glory of his nostrils is terrible. He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength: he goeth out to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear; neither turneth he back from the sword. The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear, and the shield. He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage; neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet.[k] He saith among the trumpets, Ha! Ha!; and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shoutings."[l]

Idumean history consisted principally of oral traditions; hence the phrase for reference to it

[a] Job, v. 20. [b] vi. 2. [c] vii. 6.
[d] x. 10. [e] xviii. 9, 10. [f] xix. 24.
[g] xx. 24. [h] xxxix. 23. [i] xxxix. 22.
[k] xxxix. 24. [l] xxxix. 20—25.

was, "Enquire of the former age, search of your fathers."[a] That they had already turned their attention to astronomy appears from their being acquainted with the names of several of the constellations, such as Arcturus, Orion, the Pleiades[b], and the crooked serpent.[c] The regions of the sky below their latitude they mystically described as "the chambers of the south."[d] In natural history they were acquainted with the habits of the lion, the eagle, the hawk, the peacock, the ostrich, the grasshopper, the spider, the elephant (Behemoth), the whale (Leviathan), and other animals. They were conversant with the arts of mining, by which they extracted from the earth gold, silver, and iron.[e] They also manufactured brass[f], and set a high value on the topaz of Ethiopia[g], coral, pearl, and rubies, crystal, the onyx, sapphires, and other precious stones[h], as well as the gold of Ophir, which is supposed to have been a port in the Red Sea on the coast of Africa. They manufactured oil and wine.[i] The soil was deemed of sufficient value to be divided by land-marks.[k] They were acquainted with the extremes of wealth and poverty[l]; and amused themselves with dancing to the sound of the timbrel, harp, and organ.[m] They had regular tribunals for the trial and punishment of offences.[n] They were acquainted with the use of money.[o]

[a] Job, viii. 8.
[b] xxxviii. 31, 32.
[c] xxvi. 13.
[d] ix. 9.
[e] xxviii. 1, 2.
[f] iii. 12.
[g] xxviii. 19.
[h] xxviii. 6. 16, 17, 18.
[i] xxiv. 11.
[k] xxiv. 2.
[l] xxiv. 4.
[m] xxi. 11, 12.
[n] xii. 17. 27.; xxix. 7.
[o] xlii. 11.

They had even advanced so far in the ways of luxury as to have ointments [a], to wear gold earrings [b], and to possess looking-glasses formed of polished metals. [c] They had a clear idea of a future world of happiness and of punishment [d]; and amongst no people do we find such sublime descriptions of the works and majesty of the Omnipotent, as amongst the Idumeans.

"Lo, he goeth by me, and I see him not; he passeth on also, but I perceive him not. He doeth great things past finding out; yea, and wonders without number. He spreadeth out the heavens, and treadeth upon the waves of the sea. He commandeth the sun, and it riseth not; and sealeth up the stars. He shaketh the earth out of her place, and the pillars thereof tremble." [e] "Hell is naked before him, and destruction hath no covering. He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing. He bindeth up the waters in his thick clouds; and the cloud is not rent under them. He holdeth back the face of his throne, and spreadeth his cloud upon it. He hath compassed the waters with bounds, until the day and night come to an end. The pillars of heaven tremble and are astonished at his reproof. He divideth the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through the proud. By his spirit he hath garnished the heavens: his hand hath formed the crooked serpent. Lo, these are *parts* of his ways; but how *little a portion* is heard

[a] Job, xlj. 31. [b] xli. 31. [c] xxxvii. 18.
[d] xi. 8. [e] xix.

of him? but the thunder of his power who can understand?" [a]

The poem from which these notices of the primeval condition of Idumea, and these descriptions of the Almighty power are extracted, is admitted by all commentators and critics to be the most ancient composition extant. It is manifestly an inspired production, and its very preservation amongst the Edomites shows not only their respect for the doctrines it contains, but that they were in fact the most intellectual, and, in every respect, the most civilised nation then in existence upon the earth. They had brought down to their day the true doctrines of religion, such as they were practised in the very infancy of the world. The maxims of morality announced in the poem under consideration are very little short of those inculcated in the Gospel. It expresses a belief, not only that there is a God, but that he will reward those who diligently seek him. "I know," says Job, "that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth." The Creator is frequently described, not only as the Supreme Being, but also as omnipresent, eternal, boundless in wisdom, irresistible in power, of inflexible justice, infinite goodness, and indescribable glory.

Moreover, the government of the world by the perpetual and superintending providence of God is noticed in several passages; and it is always assumed that that government is carried on by the ministra-

[a] Job, xxvi.

tion of a heavenly hierarchy, composed of various ranks and orders of the "sons of God." The angelic fall enters also into the system of the Idumean religion; the power given to Satan to tempt men, and for that purpose to walk constantly "to and fro" upon the earth, is the very groundwork of the sufferings of Job. Original sin, and the corruption of human nature in consequence thereof, are frequently alluded to. Prayer and sacrifice to God, by way of expiating transgressions, are strongly inculcated; and there are abundant expressions to show their belief in a day of future resurrection.[a] In no work whatever, whether sacred or profane, do we meet with so many, or such sublime, notions of the Deity as in this composition. If we could suppose it to be merely a human effusion, then we might infer from it a kindred elevation of sentiment throughout the community which preserved it as a national treasure. Taking it to be, as it is, the work of Divine inspiration, still the same inference follows: it was addressed to a people capable of appreciating it; worthy of it, at the time, by their virtues; and marked out, by that special intercourse with heaven, as the most favoured of the primeval nations.

The history of the Israelites shows that the Idumeans had often contended against them, either single-handed or in conjunction with other powers. "In the reign of David they were, indeed, sub-

[a] See *Introduction to the critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, by Thomas Hartwell Horne, M.A., vol. iv. p. 99.

dued and greatly oppressed; and many of them even scattered throughout the neighbouring countries, particularly Phœnicia and Egypt. But during the decline of the kingdom of Judah, and for many years previous to its extinction, they encroached upon the territories of the Jews, and extended their dominion over the south-western part of Judea."[a] Nor was Idumea without the praise of the Roman poets: —

"Primus Idumeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas."
VIRG. *Georg.* iii. 12.

"Arbustis palmarum dives Idume."
LUCAN. *Phars.* ii.

Strabo, and after him Ptolemy, considered Arabia as commensurate with the peninsula which extends between India and the Red Sea, comprehending the Desert as far as the Euphrates; and the whole of that territory they divided into three parts, Arabia Felix, Arabia Deserta, and Arabia Petræa. The latter, which may be said to be identical with the Idumea of the Scriptures, is bounded on the west by Egypt, on the north by Judea and the Dead Sea, on the south by the Red Sea, and on the east by the Great Desert, which varies its limits according to the disposition of its population.

This third division of Arabia was called Petræa, from its capital of the same name. It was not unnatural that this great entrepôt, towards which were directed all the journies and enterprises of

[a] Keith, p. 186–7.

the surrounding tribes, should give its name to a district of which it was itself the most important part, the most fertile, also, as well as the most populous. Some modern authors conceived that they found in the word Petræa an explanation of the geological character of the country, and have described it as the *stony* Arabia.[a] Doubtless Petra derived its appellation from this circumstance, being encompassed, in fact, on all sides, by rocks. It is for a similar reason that the Mussulmans have translated it by the word *Hedjaz*.

With respect to Arabia Petræa, scarcely any information is to be found amongst the Greek authors. Ptolemy alone mentions a chain of heights, which he calls the "Black Mountains." He does not indicate their position; and there are no two maps which agree in giving them the same place. It is probable that he alluded to the range of rocks which juts out from Syria towards Mount Sinai, and separates the Red Sea into two gulfs. There are also some black mountains in the neighbourhood of the port of Cherm; and a little hill of the same colour over Ras Mohammed. As his notions of the country were founded on the reports of navigators, it is possible that, after having remained for a while at Cherm, such adventurers preserved a lively recollection of the dark rocks from amongst which they obtained their supply of water; and that, on their return home, they spoke of the peculiar appearance of these mountains, as distinguished from the general colour of those in all other parts of the country, which, when

seen even at a distance, always exhibit a roseate hue.

Diodorus represents the whole district as a country every where bristling with rocks, difficult of access, separated from the neighbouring nations by deserts impassable to all persons but the natives. The springs, he says, are usually found in spots which they carefully conceal from their enemies; and the latter, overcome by the heat and the want of water, speedily become the victims of their own temerity. Such is the sum of the information furnished to us by the ancient geographers concerning Arabia Petræa.

As to the capital itself, Pliny states that "The Nabatæi inhabit a city called Petra, in a hollow somewhat less than two miles in circumference, surrounded by inaccessible mountains, with a stream running through it. It is distant from the town of Gaza, on the coast, 600 miles; and from the Persian Gulf 122."[a] Strabo says, "The capital of the Nabatæi is called Petra; it lies in a spot which is in itself level and plain, but fortified all round with a barrier of rocks and precipices; within, it is furnished with springs of excellent quality, for the supply of water, and the irrigation of gardens: without the precincts, the country is in a great measure desert, and especially towards Judæa. Jericho is at the distance of three or four days."[b] The Nabatæans are considered by Strabo to be the same people as the Idumeans.[c]

a Pliny, lib. vi. c. 28.
b Lib. xvi. p. 779., ed. Paris, 1620.
c Lib. xvi. p. 760.

Dr. Vincent, in his "Commerce of the Ancients,"[a] describes Petra as, "the capital of Edom or Seir, the Idumea or Arabia Petræa of the Greeks, the Nabatea considered both by geographers, historians, and poets, as the source of all the precious commodities of the East." "The caravans, in all ages, from Minea in the interior of Arabia, and from Gerrha on the Gulf of Persia, from Hadramaut on the ocean, and some even from Sabea in Yemen, appear to have pointed to Petra as a common centre; and from Petra the trade seems to have again branched out into every direction, to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, through Arsinoe, Gaza, Tyre, Jerusalem, Damascus, and a variety of intermediate routes that all terminated on the Mediterranean. There is every proof that is requisite, to show that the Tyrians and Sidonians were the first merchants who introduced the produce of India to all the nations which encircled the Mediterranean: so is there the strongest evidence to prove that the Tyrians obtained all their commodities from Arabia. But, if Arabia was the centre of this commerce, Petra was the point to which all the Arabians tended from the three sides of their vast peninsula."[b] At a period subsequent to the commencement of the Christian era, there always reigned at Petra, according to Strabo, a king of the royal lineage, with whom a prince was associated in the government.[c] It was a place of great strength in the time of the Romans. Pom-

[a] Vol. xi. p. 263. [b] Ib. 260—262. [c] Strabo, p. 779.

pey marched against it, but desisted from the attack; and Trajan afterwards besieged it. It was a metropolitan see, to which several bishoprics were attached in the time of the Greek emperors, when Idumea was included in the third Palestine.[a]

[a] Keith, p. 181—189.

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

FEIRAN.

CHAPTER II.

MODERN TRAVELLERS IN IDUMEA. — BURCKHARDT. — HIS ACCOUNT OF PETRA. — SUSPICIONS OF THE NATIVES. — SEETZEN, JOLIFFE, HENNIKER, MR. BANKES, IRBY AND MANGLES. — ACCOUNT OF THEIR JOURNEY. — PREPARATIONS FOR THEIR TOUR. — THEIR NEGOTIATIONS. — THEIR RECEPTION AT HEBRON. — ARRIVAL AT SHOBEK. — APPROACH TO WADY MOUSA. — TOMBS AT ITS ENTRANCE. — DEFILE LEADING TO PETRA. — ARCH ACROSS THE RAVINE. — APPEARANCE OF PETRA. — MONUMENTS. — SUDDEN DEPARTURE.

THE modern travellers who have visited the capital of Idumea were prevented, by a variety of untoward circumstances, from exploring its magnificent ruins with any degree of minuteness. Mr. Burckhardt, under the assumed name of Sheikh Ibrahim, in the year 1811, made an attempt to reach Petra, under the pretext of having made a vow to slaughter a goat in honour of Aaron, whose tomb is situated on the summit of Mount Hor. He hoped that in his way thither he might see the valley at the foot of the mountain, where the ruins of Petra, of which he had heard the country people speak in terms of great admiration, are to be found. The natives call the valley Wady Mousa, or the Valley Moses. Upon arriving at Eldjy, where the antiquities of Wady Mousa begin,

he was obliged cautiously to abstain from taking any notes of the objects which presented themselves to his view. "I knew well," he observes, "the character of the people around me: I was without protection, in the midst of a desert where no traveller had ever before been seen; and a close examination of these works of the infidels, as they are called, would have excited suspicions that I was a magician in search of treasures. Future travellers," he adds, "may visit the spot under the protection of an armed force; the inhabitants will become more accustomed to the researches of strangers; and the antiquities of Wady Mousa will then be found to rank amongst the most curious remains of ancient art." [a]

Burckhardt then notices a variety of sepulchres, which he observed on his entrance into the valley, through the extraordinary winding and narrow defile that leads to the site of Petra. After traversing this almost subterraneous passage for nearly an hour, he beheld in the main valley an excavated mausoleum, "the situation and beauty of which," he justly remarks, "are calculated to make an extraordinary impression upon the traveller. It is one of the most elegant remains of antiquity existing in Syria; its state of preservation resembles that of a building recently finished; and, on a closer examination, I found it to be a work of immense labour." [b] The traveller gives a full and,

[a] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, &c., 4to. p. 421, 422.

[b] Burckhardt, p. 424.

so far as it goes, an accurate description of the mausoleum in question, which the natives call Pharaoh's Castle, believing it to have been the residence of a great prince. "Great," he adds, "must have been the opulence of a city which could dedicate such monuments to the memory of its rulers."

After hastily passing through several of the most remarkable sepulchres, Burckhardt obtained a glance at the remains of a theatre, entirely cut out of the rock. His attention was particularly attracted by a stately edifice, styled by the natives "the palace of Pharaoh's daughter;" but when he was proceeding towards it, his guide exclaimed, "I see now, clearly, that you are an infidel, who have particular business amongst the ruins of the city of your forefathers; but depend upon it that we shall not suffer you to take out a single para [a] of all the treasures hidden therein, for they are in our territory, and belong to us." The traveller replied, that it was mere curiosity which prompted him to look at the ancient works, and that he had no other view in entering the valley than to sacrifice to Haroun (Aaron); but the guide was obstinate, and Burckhardt deemed it imprudent to irritate him by too close an inspection of the palace. He consequently made the best of his way towards the summit of Mount Hor, but was contented to make his sacrifice half way up the ascent, whence he returned to Eldjy. [b]

[a] A small Eastern coin. [b] Burckhardt, 428.

"It is very unfortunate," observes this enterprising traveller, "that the idea of treasures being hidden in ancient edifices is so strongly rooted in the minds of the Arabs and Turks. Nor are they satisfied with watching all the stranger's steps; they believe that it is sufficient for a true magician to have seen and observed the spot where treasures are hidden (of which he is supposed to be already informed by the old books of the infidels who lived on the spot), in order to be able afterwards, at his ease, to command the guardian of the treasure to set the whole before him. It was of no avail to tell them to follow me and see whether I searched for money. Their reply was, 'Of course, you will not dare to take it out before us; but we know that, if you are a skilful magician, you will order it to follow you through the air to whatever place you please.' If the traveller takes the dimensions of a building or a column, they are persuaded that it is a magical proceeding."[a]

In the year 1807, M. Seetzen, a German, travelling under the name of Moosa, made an excursion in Arabia Petræa, as far as what he calls the frontiers of Idumea; but he did not approach the ruins of the capital.[b] Mr. Joliffe found that part of the country altogether "impracticable." Sir Frederick Henniker was equally unsuccessful. He was induced to attempt it, however, although he had learned that the Cavaliere Frediani, whom he

[a] Burckhardt, 428, 429.

[b] Ib. 533. He is supposed to have been poisoned at Akaba, where he died. — *Sir Frederick Henniker's Travels*, note, p. 227.

had met in Egypt, and who entertained a similar intention, was, after five weeks of exertion, eventually compelled to relinquish his design. Sir Frederick, by means of entreaties and bribes, prevailed on some guides to agree to conduct him by the desired route; but they misled him through the desert to Gaza.[a]

Mr. Bankes, in company with Mr. Legh and Captains Irby and Mangles, have the merit of being the first persons, travelling as Europeans, who succeeded to any extent in making researches at Petra. Mr. Bankes and the two latter gentlemen had, in the first instance, attempted "to penetrate by the north and eastern coast of the Dead Sea to Wady Mousa. They had crossed the Jordan, and entered into a negotiation with the powerful tribe of Benesakar[b] Arabs, who, for a reward of 1500 piastres, had engaged to conduct them to Wady Mousa, but, on the receipt of the money, were found unable to perform their promise; and the travellers, after suffering great privations from the want of food, effected a most masterly retreat from Salt, escaped the tents of the treacherous guides, recrossed the Jordan, and returned to Jerusalem. Though their first attempt had failed, they were not to be disheartened by this disappointment."[c]

"To give you an idea of the difficulties which the Turkish government supposed there would be for an Englishman to go to Kerek and Wady

[a] Burckhardt, p. 268.
[b] "Sons of a tree."
[c] M'Michael's Journey, p. 188.

Mousa, it is necessary to say, that, when Mr. Bankes applied at Constantinople to have these places inserted in his firman, they returned for answer, that 'they knew of none such within the Grand Seignor's dominions;' but as he and Mr. Frere, the British minister, pressed the point very much, they at length referred him to the Pacha of Damascus, who (equally averse to have any thing to do with the business) passed him on to the governor of Jerusalem. This latter tried all he could to dissuade us from the undertaking, though Mr. Legh gave him a handsome spy-glass to induce him to assist us."[a]

Mahommed Aga, the governor of Jaffa, was next applied to by the travellers; he, however, not only evaded the affair altogether, but, by way of putting a stop, if possible, to their journey, ordered back even some horses which he had lent them. Another visit to the governor of Jerusalem seemed to promise as little as the preceding: a former mot-sellim, who had been twenty-four years in office, and who happened, at the moment, to be sitting with the governor, assured them that the Arabs were a most savage and treacherous race; that they thought Franks' blood a good medicine to cure their women with when sick; and that they would not hesitate to make use of the blood of the Englishmen for that purpose.

At length the party, finding that none of the public authorities would lend them any assistance,

[a] Letters of Captains Irby and Mangles, 336.

resolved to trust to their numbers and force, and to try their fortune with the sheikh of Hebron. As the work in which Messrs. Irby and Mangles describe their expedition to Petra has been printed only for private circulation, the following extracts from it will probably be new to most of the readers of this volume:—

"Each of us procured a Bedouin Arab dress of the most ordinary description, and we all bought horses for the journey, except Mr. Bankes, who was already provided with them. Our party consisted of Mr. Legh, having with him an interpreter, a Tartar from Constantinople, and a seyes (hostler). Mr. Bankes had with him a soldier of the Pacha of Egypt, and ourselves a Christian Arab servant. We had for our guide a cultivating Arab, dwelling near Jericho, named Mahommed, and a man belonging to Hebron. We took the precaution of having as little baggage as possible with us, sending the greater part to Acre with one of Mr. Legh's servants. Our dress consisted of a frock and drawers of very coarse linen; the frock being fastened round the waist by a red leathern girdle, about four inches broad. The head-dress was a handkerchief of mixed silk and cotton, coloured with broad stripes of alternate red, green, and yellow: this was doubled into a triangular form, and thrown over the head, to which it was attached by a double girdle of brown worsted rope. One corner of the handkerchief hangs down over the back of the neck, and the remaining two cover the ears, and come down over the shoulders: these

latter, when the weather is cold, the Arabs tuck up under the chin, and cover the whole face with the exception of the eyes. Over all we had the woollen abba, which we had long worn, and which we procured at Jaffa. For arms we had amongst us six muskets, one blunderbuss, five brace of pistols, and two sabres. Our money, consisting of small gold coins, was concealed in leathern belts round the waist, next the body."[a]

The travellers left Jerusalem on the 6th of May, 1818, two hours before dark in the evening, and proceeded to Bethlehem. The next day they pursued their course towards Hebron; which, according to Moses, was built "seven years before Zoan, in Egypt."[b] Josephus considers Hebron older even than Memphis; and it is, moreover, remarkable as the place where Abraham, his wife Sarah, Isaac, and Rebecca, were buried.[c] The sheikh of Hebron received the travellers very kindly, and at first made no difficulty about their proceeding to Wady Mousa. "It was an easy matter, and he would undertake it." It turned out, however, not to be quite so "easy a matter" as he had promised, as there was a great deal of shuffling amongst the subordinate authorities, with a view to extract from the travellers as much as possible in the shape of presents. Nevertheless, they were eventually supplied with a guide for Kerek, and departed from Hebron in a south-easterly direction. In the evening they reached

[a] Irby and Mangles, 339.
[b] Numbers, xiii. 22.
[c] Genesis, xxiii. 2., xlix. 31.

a Jellaheen camp of thirty tents, and were hospitably received.

"*May* 9. We wished to make a bargain with the Jellaheens for conducting us to Wady Mousa; but nothing would induce them to consent. After much bargaining, they agreed to take us to Kerek, if we would give seventy-five piastres to the chief, and ten to each of five guides, who were to accompany us with muskets. Though these people had, for a long time, refused to accept this sum, still, when it was agreed to, they all began fighting who should go. After we had descended from the camp, we offered 500 piastres if they would conduct us to Wady Mousa; but nothing would induce them to consent. They said they would not go if we would give them 5000 piastres."[a] They ceased to press the subject. Still persevering in their resolution, against all obstacles, the travellers made good their way to Kerek; which, upon its capture, Godfrey of Boulogne called Mons Regalis. The sheikh Yousouf, who received them with great civility, not only gave them a safe conduct for Wady Mousa, but also pledged himself to accompany them through the whole journey, and supplied them with horses. They set out in the afternoon (14th May), to the southward, passing though a narrow ravine, on each side of which there are caverns and wrought tombs. In one of these, which had all the appearance of a natural grotto externally, they observed places

[a] Irby and Mangles, 349.

for sarcophagi; the ravine, probably, having been the burying-place of the ancient town. Thence they ascended into a country of downs, with verdure so close as to appear almost turf, and with corn-fields at intervals: the rock did not appear much, though the surface was sprinkled over with stones. "The whole of the fine plains in this quarter are covered with sites of towns, on every eminence or spot convenient for the construction of one. As all the land is capable of rich cultivation, there can be little doubt that this country, now so deserted, once presented a continued picture of plenty and fertility."[a] This, probably, is the region alluded to by the Arabs who reported to Volney, "that there are, to the south-east of the Dead Sea, within three days' journey, upwards of three hundred ruined towns absolutely deserted." "This," says Josephus, "was the country of the Nabatheans, the most potent of the Arabs; and of the Idumeans, who, at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, were almost as numerous as the Jews."

On the 17th the travellers reached the hill upon which Shobek stands, like a gigantic mound: at its foot the ground is terraced out in gardens, and thickly planted with figs. There are numerous caves in the sides of the hills. They ascended to the town by a zig-zag path, which seems to be the only one leading to it. It appeared, in ascending, that almost all that side of the castle-hill had once

[a] Irby and Mangles, 370.

been covered with buildings. The appearance of the strangers seemed to excite considerable alarm amongst the natives, who stood on the walls, shouting, and throwing down stones. They entered, however, at an iron gate; when the inhabitants, seeing the sheikh Yousouf, received them in a friendly manner. On the 18th, soon after quitting Shobek, they reached an Arab camp, where they expected to meet Abo Raschid, the governor of the district: he did not, however, make his appearance until the next day. In the meantime violent disputes arose in the camp about permitting them to go further; but, upon the return of Abo Raschid, they succeeded in forcing their way against the Wady Mousa people. By the firmness of Abo Raschid, who seemed to render their success an affair personal to himself, they advanced amid all sorts of hostile demonstrations, and on the 24th reached a defile which led directly into Wady Mousa.

It is, at the point where they entered it, a stony but cultivated valley, of moderate size, without much character or beauty, running in a direction from east to west. "A lesser hollow, sloping down to it from the southward, meets it at an angle: at the upper end of the latter valley is the village seen, over stages of hanging fruit grounds and gardens, which are watered by a spring. At the point of junction of these valleys, a source issues from the rock, and forms a brook, to which the other is contributory: to this Abo Raschid pointed, with a sneer of exultation, as we crossed it, observing, 'There is the water about which

there has been so much contention.' It flows towards the westward; and is, in point of fact, the head of the stream which Pliny has dignified with the name of a river. We approached no nearer to the village than this point; but, as the distance did not exceed a quarter of a mile, we could plainly perceive that there was nothing ancient there; that the houses were mean and ragged, and not more than forty or fifty in number. On the summit of a broad green hill, rising above it, we could not only distinguish the large encampment to which the inhabitants had retired on the night of the 20th, but could plainly see them collected in great numbers on the brow, looking down and watching us. Some hundred yards below this spring begin the outskirts of the vast necropolis of Petra."[a]

Messrs. Irby and Mangles proceed to describe the most remarkable of the tombs, which they observed standing near the road that follows the course of the brook. They then entered a ravine, where the sides of the valley became precipitous and rugged, high detached masses of rock standing up here and there in the open space. Of these masses the architects had availed themselves in the construction of other tombs. In some instances, large and lofty towers are represented, in relievo, on the lower parts of the precipices; and the adjoining rock is cut down on all sides, so as to make the resemblance complete. Many of these are visible

[a] Irby and Mangles, 404.

from the road; but there are others which stand back in the wild nooks and recesses of the mountain.

"As we advanced, the natural features of the defile (the eastern approach to Petra) grew more and more imposing at every step, and the excavations and sculpture more frequent on both sides, till it presented, at last, a continued street of tombs; beyond which, the rocks, gradually approaching each other, seemed all at once to close without any outlet. There is, however, one frightful chasm for the passage of the stream; which furnishes, as it did anciently, the only avenue to Petra on this side. It is impossible to conceive any thing more awful or sublime than such an approach: the width is not more than just sufficient for the passage of two horsemen abreast; the sides are in all parts perpendicular, varying from 400 to 700 feet in height; and they often overhang to such a degree, that, without their absolutely meeting, the sky is intercepted and completely shut out for 100 yards together, and there is little more light than in a cavern.

"The screaming of the eagles, hawks, and owls, who were soaring above our heads in considerable numbers, seemingly annoyed at any one approaching their lonely habitation, added much to the singularity of the scene. The tamarisk, the wild fig, and the oleander grew luxuriously about the road, rendering the passages often difficult: in some places they hung down most beautifully from the cliffs and crevices where they had taken root. The

caper plant was also in luxuriant growth, the continued shade furnishing them with moisture.

" Very near the first entrance into this romantic pass, a bold arch[a] is thrown across at a great height, connecting the opposite sides of the cliff. Whether this was part of an upper road upon the summit of the mountain, or whether it be a portion of an aqueduct, which seems less probable, we had no opportunity of examining it: but, as the traveller passes under it, its appearance is most surprising, hanging thus above his head betwixt two rugged masses, apparently inaccessible. Immediately under it are sculptured niches in the rock, destined, probably, for statues; and we suspect that, by careful inspection, inscriptions might be found there. But the position in which they are viewed is disadvantageous, and the height so great, that it would require a good glass to distinguish them.

" The ravine, without changing much its general direction, presents so many elbows and windings in its course, to which the track of necessity conforms, that the eye can seldom penetrate forward beyond a few paces, and is often puzzled to distinguish in what direction the passage will open, so completely

[a] " About fifty paces below the entrance of the Syk (the defile) a bridge of one arch thrown over the top of the chasm is still entire. Immediately below it, on both sides, are large niches worked in the rock, with elegant sculptures, destined, probably, for the reception of statues. Some remains of antiquities might, perhaps, be found on the top of the rocks near the bridge; but my guide assured me that, notwithstanding repeated endeavours had been made, nobody had ever been able to climb the rocks to the bridge, which was therefore unanimously declared to be the work of the Djar, or evil genii." — *Burckhardt*, 423.

does it appear obstructed. The exact spot was not pointed out to us; but it is somewhere amidst these natural horrors that upwards of thirty pilgrims from Barbary were murdered last year by the men of Wady Mousa on their return from Mecca. Salvator Rosa never conceived so savage and suitable a quarter for banditti. The brook has, at this season, disappeared beneath the soil; but the manner in which its occasional overflowings have broken up the antique pavement, and the slippery passes which the running waters have made, by polishing the live rock where it had been cut away to form the road, sufficiently prove the necessity of providing another course for its waters. A trough carried along near the foot of the precipice, upon the left-hand side, was destined to confine the water, and to convey it upon a higher than the natural level to the city. At a considerable distance down the ravine this watercourse crosses over to the opposite side; and towards its extremity may be traced along at a great height in earthen pipes, bedded and secured with mortar, in horizontal grooves cut in the face of the rock, and even across the architectural fronts of some of the tombs, which makes it probable that it is posterior to them.

"We followed this sort of half subterranean passage for the space of nearly two miles, the sides increasing in height as the path continually descended, while the tops of the precipices retained their former level. Where they are at the highest, a beam of stronger light breaks in at the close of the dark perspective, and opens to view, half seen at first through

the tall narrow opening, columns, statues, and cornices, of a light and finished taste, as if fresh from the chisel, without the tints or weather stains of age, and executed in a stone of a pale rose colour, which was warmed, at the moment we came in sight of them, with the full light of the morning sun. The dark green of the shrubs that grow in this perpetual shade, and the sombre appearance of the passage whence we were about to issue, formed a fine contrast with the glowing colours of the edifice. We know not with what to compare this scene; perhaps there is nothing in the world that resembles it. Only a portion of a very extensive architectural elevation is seen at first; but it has been so contrived, that a statue with expanded wings, perhaps of Victory, just fills the centre of the aperture in front, which, being closed below by the sides of the rock folding over each other, gives to the figure the appearance of being suspended in the air at a considerable height; the ruggedness of the cliffs below setting off the sculpture to the highest advantage. The rest of the design opened gradually at every pace as we advanced, till the narrow defile, which had continued thus far, without any increase of breadth, spreads on both sides into an open area of a moderate size, whose sides are by nature inaccessible, and present the same awful and romantic features as the avenues which lead to it: this opening gives admission to a great body of light from the eastward. The position is one of the most beautiful that could be imagined for the front of a great temple, the richness and exquisite finish of whose

decorations offers a most remarkable contrast to the savage scenery which surrounds it." [a]

The authors enter into a full description of the temples in question, which they consider to be an effort of art posterior to the time of Trajan, as its style of architecture, though wholly excavated out of the rock, differs little from the Roman. "The wide space," they add, "which constitutes the area before the temple is about fifty yards in width, and about three times as long. It terminates to the south in a wild precipitous cliff, rendered accessible by steps to the north-north-west. The defile assumes, for about three hundred yards, the same features which characterise the eastern approach, with an infinite variety of tombs, both Arabian and Roman, on either side. This pass conducts to the theatre; and here the ruins of the city burst on the view in their full grandeur, shut in on the opposite side by barren, craggy precipices, from which numerous ravines and valleys, like those we had passed, branch out in all directions. The sides of the mountains, covered with an endless variety of excavated tombs and private dwellings, presented, altogether, the most singular scene we ever beheld. We must despair to give the reader an idea of the peculiar effect of the rocks tinted with most extraordinary hues, whose summits present us with nature in her most savage and romantic form, whilst their bases are worked out in all the symmetry and regularity of art, with colonnades and pediments, and

[a] Irby and Mangles, 419.

ranges of corridors adhering to the perpendicular surface." [a]

The travellers spent two days amongst the temples, tombs, and ruins of Wady Mousa, a period of time "very insufficient to complete an examination of them." They found it impossible to remain any longer; for although Abou Raschid accompanied them the whole time, yet, having but few attendants, he was never at his ease, and constantly urged them to depart. They then proceeded to visit Mount Hor, from the summit of which they distinguished with the glass another magnificent temple. But the number and intricacy of the valleys and ruins, which they supposed might have led to it, baffled all their attempts to reach that singular monument of antiquity. "On leaving Petra," they observe, "the track rises considerably, and is slippery and dangerous. Our attention was particularly excited, on this side, by remarking with how much care the scanty soil had been banked up into terraces, and disposed into fields and gardens: every nook that could furnish footing for a single plant is turned to account; proving that Strabo was not mistaken in speaking of the horticultural advantages of this city. The inhabitants seem to have made the most of it. At present, the barren state of the country, together with the desolate condition of the city, without a single human being living near it, seem strongly to verify the judgment denounced against it:—'Edom shall be a desolation.'" [b] *Jer.* xlix. 17.

[a] Irby and Mangles, 423.

[b] Ibid. 439.

Mr. Bankes and his friends were thus obliged to leave unexplored the great temple which they had seen from Mount Hor; the arch thrown over the chasm of the eastern entrance; an obelisk on one of the commanding heights; many of the ravines and valleys, in the entrances of which were tombs, and which promised much if well examined; an insulated and conical mount with steps; a height which they supposed to be the Acropolis; and a great variety of other objects. No entreaty could obtain for them a further extension of the time allotted in the first instance.

WRITER IN THE KIHAIA BEY'S OFFICE.

CHAPTER III.

DIFFERENT ROUTES TO PETRA. — MODES OF TRAVELLING IN THE EAST. — ADVANTAGES OF EACH. — AUTHOR'S PREPARATION FOR JOURNEY. — INSTRUCTIONS FOR TRAVELLERS. — TRAVELLING COSTUME. — EQUIPMENT. — PROVISIONS. — PRESENTS. — SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS. — LETTERS OF INTRODUCTION. — PLAN OF JOURNEY. — KIHAIA BEY'S OFFICE. — DEPARTURE FROM CAIRO. — GAMES OF THE DJERID.

After having remained a year at Cairo, I was obliged to give up all idea of having recourse to the authority of the Pacha. I found that I could count upon no facilities in that quarter for my journey, beyond the actual boundaries of his dominions, unless I followed in the suite of his armies, whose movements would be directed by motives altogether different from mine. Two routes were open to me: one on the northern side, that of the

pilgrims of Mecca; the other on the southern side, by the valleys of the peninsula. The former is wholly destitute of interest; while the latter leads to Sinai, and a variety of other localities connected with the Scriptures. Once arrived at Akaba, I might consider that as a halting place, where fresh arrangements should be made before committing myself to the protection of the less known tribes of the East.

Another point, of no slight consequence, called for my serious attention. My father had accompanied me in my travels as far as Cairo, whence he was recalled to Paris. When we traversed Asia Minor, following the course of the Meander, passing through the country of Zebeck, the town of Konia, the chain of the Taurus, Aleppo, Damascus, the Hauran, and the coasts of the Dead Sea, my father occupied a litter (tactaravan), in which he was conveyed from place to place, like one of the great lords of the country. We thus travelled in state: a Tartar of the Porte in front; I and my companions at each side, or behind; then our Turkish and Arabian dragomen; eight servants on horseback, and five Arabians on foot; besides the conductors of the tactaravan, and mules for relay. It was every where supposed that we were in attendance upon a Pacha or Bey, who was proceeding to his province: our brilliant appearance excited respect, and, at the same time, served as an answer to curiosity. Our tent, covered with rich green and scarlet cloths, decorated with balls of gold, and divided into suitable apartments, was pitched

in the midst of ruins, or near a mosque; and we took our notes and sketches with as little interruption as the artist meets in the Campo Vaccino, or the temples of Rome. The expense of such a mode of travelling is certainly very great, and affords strong attractions to cupidity; but this disadvantage is fully compensated by the respect and fear which pageantry always excites amongst a people apt to judge by external appearances. It was in this manner also that Seetzen performed his journey.

Burckhardt adopted a plan altogether the reverse, and partaking more of the character of originality and adventure. Dressed like an Arab of the lowest class, he drove a donkey before him; and, under different pretexts, joined the little caravans which have formed pathways in the desert from tribe to tribe. But he was well versed in the Arabian language and manners, and was thus enabled to pass himself off as one of the natives. Nevertheless, as we have already seen, even this mode of travelling in Arabia has its disadvantages, inasmuch as he was obliged to make his notes by stealth; often to give up his labours altogether; and to forego, amongst the most interesting places which he visited, the hope of producing even a single accurate drawing.

The traveller in the East, who wishes to become acquainted with the habits and languages of the different tribes he is likely to encounter, should certainly set out as a mendicant. He is thus enabled to surprise them in their true and natural modes of life, in their own homes, and, as it

were, in their undress: he enters into their private history, and learns all the vicissitudes to which they are exposed; for the records, however, of what he observes, he must trust entirely to his memory. But the traveller who has other objects in view, such as astronomical or geological pursuits, or studies in architecture or archaiology, should be surrounded with magnificence; he should have his dromedaries, his caravan, and a numerous train of attendants. The manners of the people he can only learn on occasions of public ceremony, but he may use his instruments without fear of opposition; he may measure angles, calculate heights, collect minerals, plants, and animals, take designs of ancient monuments, copy inscriptions, and bring away with him a complete picture of the country. The first is initiated in the domestic life of the natives; the second possesses himself of the external aspect of the country which they inhabit. Of the two, the latter only has the better chance of trespassing now and then upon the domain of the former.

There is, therefore, no doubt that the more showy mode of travelling is attended with the most certain advantages. I consequently adopted it, modifying my plans according to the exigencies of the case. Instead of guards and Tartars, I selected guides; instead of horses, I had dromedaries; I dispensed with the tactaravan and its green and scarlet fringes, but I took with me a caravan of sixteen dromedaries; a number sufficient, indeed, to tempt the avarice of the Arabs, but at the same time to compel them to treat me with respect.

In the excursions which I had already made across the desert, I experienced the disagreeableness of travelling without an intelligent companion. I spoke to several Englishmen on the subject, whose enterprising dispositions harmonised entirely with my own. We had taken measures for the preparation of a numerous expedition; but then came a variety of difficulties connected with the publication of our notes, which, being eventually found insuperable, put an end to our projects. At this conjuncture, M. Linant happened to return to Cairo from a journey in Upper Egypt; being both Frenchmen, we speedily understood each other, and agreed to make the tour to Petra together.

Toualeb, of the tribe of Oualed Said, who was well known to M. Linant, was sent for to Sinai: upon my part I engaged Hussein, whom I had often met at the Greek convent in Cairo, and whose appearance inspired me with confidence in his integrity. These two persons were charged with the whole of our arrangements. We directed them to procure for us two other Arabs as guides, men of character and firmness; and also nine dromedaries. M. Linant took with him, moreover, an old friend of his, who had the care of his house at Cairo, M. Petit-Jean, a veteran *décoré* of the grand army; who, after having gone through the campaigns of the Revolution, as well as those of the empire, including Waterloo, was among the first of the Europeans who was employed to drill the negroes and Fellahs, and to teach them military manœuvres in the camps of Assouan. His was

one of those iron frames upon which fatigue, wounds, and maladies appeared to have left no trace: his very soul seemed bronzed, and devoid of all faith except in the temper of his good sword, and the charms of a good dinner. Petit-Jean was, in fact, a character such as our nation alone, and our twenty-five years of war, could have exhibited. During our journey he was an unfailing resource in danger, an active auxiliary in all our exigencies, and, even when circumstances proved most adverse to our hopes, his cheerfulness seemed inexhaustible. My dragoman also attended me, the good-natured and faithful Bellier, of whose excellent qualities I had in this, as well as in my former journies, the most satisfactory experience. We employed a Berber for menial services.

It may be useful to other travellers, meditating the same tour, that I should mention our personal preparations, in order to prevent them from taking too much baggage, which is not only useless, but often dangerous. From Cairo to Sinai the route is tolerably safe: the Bedouins are so well restrained under the rule of the Pacha, that a Frank may travel without any obstruction in a round hat and frock coat. It is only on the way from Egypt to Syria, by Petra, or Djerasch, or on going to Djedda, and in the interior, that precautions become necessary. The arrangements, in this respect, are the same as those which have been usually made by the pilgrims of Mecca for ages; and customs change so little in the East, that such as we found them they are likely to remain for the next

fifty years to come. The traveller should live after the fashion of the country; and, if he wish as much as possible to avoid danger and importunity, he should dispense with luxuries of every description.

We were all dressed like Bedouins. A woollen cloak, striped with brown; a red tanned sheep-skin; a linen shirt, fastened round the waist by a leathern or woollen cincture; and the kefieh, or striped yellow and red handkerchief, fastened round the head by a cord of camel-hair dyed black, formed the whole of our apparel. We had no tent: it would be superfluous, except in the rainy season; and would serve only to attract the attention, to excite the cupidity, and often the hostility, of the Arabs. A sheep-skin, which covered the saddle during the day, was our mattress at night. Skins, such as are used for this purpose, may be found at Cairo, of six feet in length: our provision sacks were our pillows; and for covering we had our pelisses and cloaks. Three shirts are quite sufficient for the journey, as they may be washed every fifteen days: in fact, I had but one the whole way. Two pair of drawers are abundant: it is much more convenient not to have any at all; and, strange as it may appear, stockings, also, should be set down as superfluities. A supply of shoes is necessary, calculating on two pair being worn out in a month. Fish-skin sandals are, however, preferable; which may be purchased at Djebal, near Tor, and sometimes also at Suez.

Water bags should be carefully procured, in the proportion of, at least, two for each person: they ought to be small, because the camels, in rubbing against each other, are apt to break them, and then the loss of water is less considerable. Being small, they may be the more easily stowed away under the provision sacks. I the more strongly recommend this precaution, because even among the encampments it is frequently difficult to obtain water bags, the Arabs being seldom disposed to part with those which they have for their own use. To these utensils should be added a round metal plate for the purposes of baking, with a ring by which it can be attached to the saddle. Although the Arabs are accustomed to bake their bread in the ashes, nevertheless they prefer cakes done upon the iron plate, when they can obtain them: bread thus manufactured is cleaner, and keeps longer than the other, in consequence of its being baked more thoroughly. The plate costs fifteen piasters. A large leathern pitcher is necessary for butter: it is preferable to the bags in which the Arabs preserve it, as it is less exposed to the accidents to which I have alluded. Two kettles should be provided, one of which, for the convenience of carriage, should fit in the other: one alone would not be sufficient even for the most ordinary meals, consisting merely of the pilau and buttered bread. A round piece of leather, which may be used as a table-cloth, and, if there be rings placed around the edge, as a bag for containing bread and the fragments of

dinner; a case, with divisions in it for holding cups; a coffee pot and some ground coffee, are also indispensable. Nothing pleases an Arab more, or smooths down a difficulty with greater expedition, than a cup of coffee presented to him in the midst of a discussion. The cups should be of copper, carefully tinned over before setting out, as the slovenliness almost inseparable from a long journey might otherwise render them dangerous. Spoons are useless; forks are not known to the habits of the country; knives are chiefly worn in the cincture. Water is too valuable to be applied to the purpose of washing the hands: sand is used instead.

With respect to provisions, a sufficient quantity of rice should be purchased: it may be had at Suez and Akaba. Wheat is excellent cooked with rice, or even by itself, as a pilau: the Arabs supply it. An abundant store of coffee should be added, in order to enable the traveller to present some occasionally to the Arabs. Part of it should be roasted and ground beforehand, to avoid any trouble of that kind on the journey. Some pounds of tobacco, cut small, will be useful, indeed necessary, in the peninsula of Sinai. It need not be of the best quality. Salt, pepper, chocolate, which requires little room and is extremely nourishing, dates, apricot pâtés, and dried apricots of Damascus, pickled tongues, and potted cheese, should by no means be omitted. As it may be right to guard against all contingencies, some medicines should be selected applicable to such indispositions

as the traveller in those regions may be subject to, including especially some spirituous liquor, which will be found serviceable in cases of contusion, together with a set of lancets. A little experience in blood-letting would be advantageous.

We took with us, as presents, a spy-glass, intended for Abou Raschid, chief of the tribe of Alaouins; a remarkably fine Albanian gun, a double-barrelled English gun, a watch, and a Cashmere shawl. These are the only articles which are really prized by the Arabs: other things amuse, but do not satisfy them. It would be well to provide a few glass articles for the women and children, not, however, with a view to give them away indiscriminately, but to induce the young idlers to earn them by little services. As to money, we kept ours in our travelling bags. But, if there be any danger of treachery, some Venetian sequins should be secreted in a belt, and worn under the shirt.

The scientific traveller, who takes with him astronomical and mathematical instruments, should be cautious to have them covered with a black composition, or coloured like bronze, in order to disabuse the Arabs of the notion, that those articles are made of gold, because they are generally so brilliant. They should be firmly fitted in strong cases, otherwise they are likely to be injured by the continual motion of the camels. No precautions can, however, save them from accidents of some kind or another, as the Arabs, from not understanding their value, handle them in the most

careless manner. It would be convenient to have a glass artificial horizon: I made use of mercury and blackened oil in Syria; but there is constantly the danger of losing both the one and the other. Besides a chronometer, several watches, thermometers, and small mariners' compasses should be provided, as articles of this kind are apt to be lost or injured, and there is no chance of replacing them. A dozen quires of grey paper will be quite sufficient to contain the whole flora of Arabia Petræa.[a] Unless the traveller be a very good botanist, it will be mere loss of time to occupy himself in that way. For making drawings, black lead pencils, rather hard, are the best, because they fix the design more permanently on paper. Designs should never be thus sketched in an album, because the first is effaced on making the second: it is better to have a board with a copper frame, in which a sheet of paper may be held; the inconvenience caused by the wind is thus removed; and when the sketch is finished, it should be put by in a portfolio, where it cannot be damaged. A good supply should be laid in of paper, pencils, penknives, gum elastic, and other articles of that description, which are quickly used, or easily lost in the hurry of packing up. For taking the dimensions of monuments of art, measures in varnished tent-cloth are the best: they unrol to the extent of sixty feet, and yet may be enclosed in a

[a] The natural history of Arabia Petræa has been extremely well executed by Messrs. Ehrenberg and Emprisch, and, two years later, by M. Rüppel.

box of three inches in diameter. A rope ladder, hammers for breaking minerals, and instruments for dissection, will be found useful by different travellers, according to the pursuits to which they may be most inclined.

It will be necessary to have letters of recommendation to the governors of Suez and Akabah. These letters should proceed from the office of the Kihaia Bey. A letter also for the superior of the convent of St. Catharine should be obtained; it may be had without any difficulty from the Greek convent at Cairo. As to the Arab chiefs, letters have no influence with them; they are only to be won by presents and address.

After having made all our arrangements, we thus regulated our route, — to halt on the frontiers of the desert, in order to get a fresh supply of provisions; to look for a fragment of stone in the northern part of the isthmus of Suez, where we entertained a hope of finding the Persepolitan monument mentioned by the Egyptian Commission; to visit Suez, the wells of Moses, the baths of Pharaoh, and Sarbout el Cadem; to halt among the tribe of Oualed Saïd; to proceed to Akaba, passing by the north of Sinai; to send for the Alaouin chiefs; to penetrate to Wady Mousa; to remain there as long as possible; to return by a different route to Sinai; to pass through Ras Mohammed, Tor, Wady Faran, the convents of Serbal, Wady Mokatteb, and then return by Suez to Egypt.

On proceeding to the citadel, to the office of

the Kihaia Bey, to request that he would give me a letter for the governor of the fortress of Akaba, I was received by Abib Effendi, in the midst of his attendants and courtiers, with the greatest civility. I was immediately presented with a pipe and a cup of coffee. When I explained to him the object of my visit, he desired that I should be conducted to a chamber where several persons were engaged in writing, that my letter might be despatched with all possible expedition. I was then presented to an old man, such as is represented in the cut prefixed to this chapter.

In this chamber also, I was honoured with a pipe and some coffee, the indispensable accompaniments of all visits, as established by the crowds of attendants to be found in all oriental mansions; one division appearing to be specially attached to the coffee department, under the direction of the Caouedjibachi, while another set are employed in preparing and lighting the pipes, and executing the orders of the Tschiboukschbiachi.

PIPE BEARER.

When I looked attentively around me, while I was thus engaged, I could not but consider the room in which I was seated rather as a chamber of repose, than as a bureau for the performance of official business.

The next day (25th February, 1828) the Tohrats, our Arab guides, made their appearance in front of our house, with nine dromedaries, which knelt down at their command. The whole street was in confusion. The cries of the animals, mingled with the equally hoarse shouts of the Arabs and the passengers, gave peculiar animation to the scene. I placed the bags containing my light luggage on a female dromedary, which I had selected the evening before, after trying her paces. My sheepskin pelisse and cloak softened the seat of my saddle. At the pommel was suspended, on one side, a small bag containing a mariner's compass, some loose sheets of paper, a brass compass and pencils — all necessary materials for rapid observations on the journey; on the other side hung a leathern bottle, filled with water to drink during the heat of the day; immediately behind the pommel were arranged a pair of pistols, a double-barrelled gun, a cartouche-box, and my sabre in a black scabbard.

We quitted Cairo, all mounted on our dromedaries, which, with extended neck and nose in air, followed at long strides our principal guide, Hussein, who was in front of our line. These huge animals, by being accustomed from their birth to live with man under the tent, and when

grown up to share with him in his wandering life, soon acquire that patient and submissive character which is impressed on their whole appearance.

HEAD OF DROMEDARY.

A small path, traced on the border of a branch of the canal, leaving on our right a mosque, which was formerly converted into a fortification by the French, and is now entirely abandoned, led us from Cairo towards our encampment. Here each person carefully re-arranged his equipment, just as the voyager settles himself in the berth of a vessel, or the traveller in his carriage between Paris and the first stage where he is to change horses. To us it was of particular importance to look after our provisions, and the other peculiar resources which we required for our journey. The strict necessity of attending to these preparations at the moment of departure serves, more than any other circumstance, to recall the ancient comparison of the camel to a ship, of the desert to the sea, and of such a journey to an adventure on the ocean.

The minarets of Cairo, its cupolas and palm trees, already began to vanish from our eyes through the heated atmosphere; the cemeteries became more rare; the desert gradually gained on

the works of man, and upon their fields cultivated with so much industry and such limited profit. The solitude was marked by profound silence, and yet Materieh was at a little distance on our right. This asylum of every species of crime forms a village, under the special government of the Ouali. It has been erected, as if by way of derision, in the neighbourhood of the ancient temple of Heliopolis, where the sages, in the olden time, were accustomed to assemble. The ruins of that once magnificent city still appear among palm trees on the left; they present, however, only heaps of rubbish, and an obelisk, of which an exact representation is given in the works of Clarke and Turner. An inclosure, constructed of brick, comprehends a considerable space of ground, which is covered every year by the inundation of the Nile to the height of five feet, as is shown by the line which it leaves upon the obelisk. A portion of the soil is cultivated; towards the south it is chiefly planted with palm trees.

On the right a vast plain extends towards the chain of Mokattam. Here, on a space made level by the winds of the desert, the Turks of the old school still occasionally practise the games of the Djerid. The splendid robes, which they resume when they wish to be at ease in the privacy of home, and which they exchange for the modern attire only when they have to appear before the Pacha, produce a picturesque effect, contrasted with the uniform colour of the sandy wastes, whose dreariness is animated by their exercise. I might

have taken, as we proceeded, views of the tree of the Virgin; of the cafiné at which we stopped, in the midst of a forest of palm trees; of the buildings of Khangha; the grand camp of the Pacha; and the hospital of Abouzabel, a foundation of the most useful description; but, however interesting, such sketches would only be a repetition of the objects familiar to every traveller who goes to Egypt.

THROWING THE DJERID.

ASIATIC SOCIETY

POOR BEDOUIN ARAB.

CHAPTER IV.

ARAB ENCAMPMENT. — CANAL OF THE NILE. — PLANS OF NAPOLEON. — TEL MAYROUTA. — PROVINCE OF GOSHEN. — JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN. — MOSES. — APPROACH TO SUEZ. — A CARAVAN. — ARABIAN COSTUME. — ARRIVAL AT SUEZ. — DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN. — HISTORY OF SUEZ. — VARIETY OF ITS INHABITANTS. — RENDEZVOUS FOR GUIDES. — DEPARTURE FROM SUEZ. — ARABIAN INDEPENDENCE.

After having spent the night in the hospitable residence of two French officers belonging to the staff of the Pacha's army, we directed our course to the north of Khangha, towards one of the encampments of the tribes of the desert, who usually approach the Egyptian frontiers at this season of the year to pasture their flocks. We were treated magnificently by the chief of the tribe, called

Oualed Saïd. We purchased from them some beans, wheat, and rice. The narratives of the early pilgrims, as well as of the travellers who have succeeded them in exploring these countries, mention the custom of stopping at these friendly encampments; for here, as well as in Arabia Petræa, that part of the journey which leads to Sinai is still, as it long has been, a privileged route, although not yet wholly free from accidents of an adventurous description.

We slept at night on the sand, having within our horizon the minarets and palm trees of Belbeis, which the morning sun tinted with a pale gold colour. We rose stiff with cold; but the rapid trot of our dromedaries soon gave flexibility to our benumbed limbs, and brought us to the banks of the canal which formerly united the Nile with the Red Sea. We recognised it immediately by a line of mounds of sand which extend from the west to the east, having between them a bed sufficiently large, and still open, for the rising waters of the Nile, which, when the inundation is at its height, thus escape into the brackish lakes. What accumulated ages of grandeur have not those banks witnessed! what abundant tokens of wealth do we not behold in these remains of ancient industry!

It was on the 4th of Nivose, in the year 7 (24th December, 1798), that Bonaparte, accompanied by Generals Berthier and Caffarelli, and the savants Monge and Bertollet, proceeded to Suez, with the

view of examining its harbour, of discovering the vestiges of the ancient canal, and of ascertaining, by the most accurate calculations, the expense and the period of time that would be required for the restoration of that great work. He was the first to observe the undoubted traces of the canal, which extend from the most northern point of the gulf of Suez for several leagues, and then are lost in the great basin of the brackish lakes. Towards Belbeis, in Wady Tomlat, they become scarcely discernible. The engineer Lepère, who took the levels, drew up a valuable memoir on the subject, which was inserted in Denon's work on Egypt: he collected several proofs of the existence of the ancient canal, founded on historical documents as well as on the vestiges that still remain; he clearly established its course, and its junction with the Nile; he then entered into details as to the levels of the two seas, which exhibit a considerable difference; and laid down a plan, which might be speedily and economically executed, not only for the restoration of the canal, but also for the union of the two seas across the Isthmus of Suez. But the retreat of the French army unfortunately put an end to this great enterprise.

A guide, whom we had brought from Wady Tomlat, undertook to show us a large stone of red granite, with an inscription on it, of which our Tohrats had heard at Cairo. We were the more anxious to discover it, as we entertained the hope that it might turn out to be the Persepolitan

monument, some fragments of which are described in the work on Egypt: but we were disappointed; as we found only a stone, sculptured after the Egyptian fashion, half buried in the sand, and so mutilated as to be scarcely deserving of notice. Some blocks of plain granite, and a few heaps of broken pottery, indicate this spot as the site of an ancient Egyptian town. In Denon's work it is called Aboucheycheyd: our guide gave it the name of Tel Masrouta.

This place is, however, interesting in another point of view: — it is the scene of one of the most engaging episodes in Scripture. It is in the province of Goshen, where the children of Israel settled and multiplied: it was here that the meeting occurred between the father and son — between Jacob, the patriarch and chief of his tribe, and Joseph, the minister and master of Egypt. But what description of that meeting can be more touching than the sacred text itself?

"Haste ye, and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord of all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry not:

"And thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks and thy herds, and all that thou hast:

"And there I will nourish thee: (for yet there are five years of famine); lest thou, and thy household, and all that thou hast, come to poverty."

* * * * *

"So he sent his brethren away, and they departed: and he said unto them, See that ye fall not out by the way.

"And they went up out of Egypt, and came into the land of Canaan unto Jacob their father,

"And told him, saying, Joseph is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt. And Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not.

"And they told him all the words of Joseph, which he said unto them: and when he saw the waggons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father revived:

"And Israel said, It is enough; Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go and see him before I die."

* * * * *

"And he sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen: and they came into the land of Goshen.

"And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father to Goshen; and presented himself unto him: and he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while.

"And Israel said unto Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, because thou art yet alive."[1]

This scene reminds me of another characteristic passage, which indicates strongly the natural emo-

[1] Genesis, xlv. 9—11. 24—28.; xlvi. 28—30.

tions of the great legislator, Moses, while still a young man.

"And it came to pass in those days, when Moses was grown, that he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their burthens, and he spied an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren.

"And he looked this way and that way, and when he saw that there was no man, he slew the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand." [a]

THE COBBOUS.

Moses was irritated by the injurious treatment which his brethren had met with. His noble soul, grieved by such injustice, impelled him to avenge his nation; but he looked round first on all sides to ascertain that he was not seen; for though of a generous and susceptible disposition, he was reserved, cautious, almost timid: he slew the Egyptian, and concealed him in the sand. The expressions in the Bible are usually concise, but at the same time so exactly descriptive, that it is only upon a critical examination the great merit of the work is developed.

[a] Exodus, ii. 11, 12.

Here, for example, we find an allusion to the peculiar weapon of the desert, — a small club called a *cobbous*, formed of a knotted stick: then the locality of Goshen, on the borders of the desert and of the cultivated country; for he hid his victim in the sand.

We were then journeying towards Suez, and about to pursue the route of the Israelites in the desert: to follow them even to the land of promise, that great object of their laborious enterprise; to renew step by step the murmurs which their privations in the wilderness extorted from them, the praises which they gave to God when they reached a well or a palm tree, and in short all the impressions so naturally experienced by every traveller in that country.

A sandy plain, undermined by the waters, which frequently broke out where the heavy tread of the camels left a deep impression, extends to the south of the traces of the canal. It was a painful and even a dangerous task to traverse this series of marshes in the midst of the arid waste. During the night we kept watch in turns, having observed a fire at the distance of half a league.

The sun was already (28th) on the edge of the horizon, when the camels made the desert resound with those plaintive cries which they send forth when the burthens are about to be replaced on their backs. The long rays of the cold light projected to a distance the shadows of the animals and the men, while each hurried with his baggage to his dromedary, and seating himself in his saddle was lifted up

as the animal rose to resume the labours of the day. Such was the ordinary picture of our departure every morning, during our journeys through the desert. We had scarcely passed a line of hills which were on our way, when we perceived, beyond the undulations of the sand, the heads of some camels, and the burthens of some others surmounted by guns. We continued our course without affecting to take notice of them; but the caravan coming towards us did not conceal their alarm. The men unfastened their guns, and striking a light kindled their matches; they held us in check, while the women, assembling the camels, kept them together. Dackaralla, one of our guides, dismounted, and proceeded unarmed towards them. A man from the other caravan came out in the same way to meet him. We remained stationary, waiting to see the result of this salutation after the fashion of the desert. They held out their right hands to each other and embraced; we sent from a distance the salam *alekoum*[a], and proceeded rapidly on our route, being un-

[a] "We were now within a few paces of the tent, when seven men sprang upon their feet; four of them drew pistols from their belts, and presented them at our heads; a fifth raised an axe; and the elder of the party, uttering a tremendous yell, ran forward towards our Shekh, wielding a club, as if to kill and bury him at a blow; in an instant he dropped this herculean weapon, and placing his right hand against the right hand of the Shekh, and then on his own breast, said, 'Salam Alekum'—Peace to you. This was answered by 'Alekum Salam,' and a similar movement of the hand. The same ceremony was performed respectively and respectfully by each individual of our party with each individual of theirs; and thus having given and received the Arab assurance of friendship, we were at liberty to consider ourselves safe. To take aim at a person is meant as a compliment, which is sometimes increased by firing."—*Henniker*, p. 41.

willing to lose time in the trifling chitchat usually attending these encounters, or to betray our ignorance of their customs and language. We afterwards learned that this little caravan was from Nackel, and that it was composed of Thyats. Their dress differed slightly from ours.

The Arabian costume in general exhibits a considerable variety; that of the Bedouins of Africa is by no means the same as that of the Arabian Bedouins, of whom the Wahabites are the most celebrated; it differs also from that of the Bedouins of Arabia Petræa, as well as from that of the Bedouins of Arabia Deserta. I wore the dress of the latter tribe in Palmyra, and throughout the Hauran to Djerasch. It is the usual costume of the great tribe of the Anezehs, who travel every year with enormous herds and flocks from Damascus to Bagdad; of all the tribes who frequent the borders of the cultivated countries in the great triangle formed by Aleppo, Bagdad, and Djedda; and of the Benisackers, the Alaouins, and Amrans, the only three tribes who can exercise any influence over the Fellahs of Wady Mousa. The Arabians who wander in the vicinity of Damascus and Palmyra wear sometimes white cloaks ornamented with red capes; others wear the woollen cloak with blue stripes; but those with brown stripes are more generally used. All wear the kefieh; the chiefs and some old sheicks surround it with a band of muslin in the form of a turban, instead of the camel-hair cord preferred by the multitude.

The costume of the Wahabites is very rich; their

kefieh is generally of a brilliant colour, with close stripes; and above it they wear the turban. The Tohrâs and Thyats, the Bedouins of Arabia Petræa, are distinguishable by their plain blue cloaks. Instead of the kefieh, they wear a red cap or a white turban. The Bedouins of Africa, who wander from Fez and Morocco as far as the isthmus of Suez, along the whole coast, and more or less in the interior, according to the fertility of the country, have also for their head-dress a red cap, or one simply of white felt; they wear a very short shirt, bound by a leathern girdle, and a very large mantle, one corner of which being made fast to the girdle permits the rest to fall in majestic folds from the shoulders round the person, or from the head like a sheet. These are the leading variations of costume which fell under my notice. But a thousand minor peculiarities will be found amongst the countless tribes who wander over Asia, forming the great Arabian family. The poorer classes of Bedouins are arrayed in the most humble attire — a slovenly small cap, and a piece of any kind of stuff which they can procure by way of mantle, but which, though often in tatters, is seldom wholly devoid of a dignified air.

We at length arrived within sight of Suez. That city may be discerned at a considerable distance; but, wearied as I was by the desolate and arid aspect of the desert, my attention was not much excited by the picture which the town and its harbour presented, notwithstanding its celebrity as a resting-place between two worlds, and a boundary between two seas. A gentle declivity, which

descends gradually to the shore, permits the eye to wander over a vast extent of the horizon, Suez rising from the blue sea like a mere whitened point. A little beyond the city is a santon's tomb; to the right we observed a small white cupola belonging to another santon near Bir. With these exceptions, nothing was to be seen but sand and gravel — not so much as a blade of grass or a palm tree (which may be found gracing the most miserable hamlets), exhibiting any where the symptoms of life by its motion, or of humidity by its verdure. The prospect, on the contrary, was enough to make one thirsty; the heat appeared to become here more intense, because it afforded no hope of shade; every thing seemed thoroughly parched around us.

The immediate approach to Suez is not more cheerful than its first appearance. The numerous footsteps of camels, the paths worn by their constant passing and repassing, were the only signs we could discover of its intercourse with mankind. The town is entered by a gate on the eastern side, which remains open the whole day. A porter, who resides in the top part of the gate, shuts every evening the folding doors, formed of planks which scarcely meet together. This inclosure once passed, the traveller finds himself in a kind of square between the wall which he has just left behind him, and another in ruins about a hundred and fifty paces on the opposite side: on the left hand he may behold the sea, and some small vessels in progress of construction. A little beyond the second wall commence the houses of the town, forming a long and wide street,

which leads to the governor's palace and the principal khan.

Arsinoe, Cleopatris, Clysma, then Kolzum, and finally Suez[a], are the names by which the towns built on the northern shore of the Red Sea, on the side nearest to Egypt, were in former ages variously distinguished. To assign to each of these towns its exact position, and to point out which of these appellations were synonymous, or which belonged to separate cities, would be a matter of no slight difficulty; it may be sufficient here to state, that Suez, which was at one time much more extensive than it is at present, now occupies the extremity of a mass of ruins commanding the harbour, that appear to be the remains of a fortress built by the Turks with the materials of the an-

[a] "In the time of Niebuhr Suez was not enclosed; there is now a wall on the west and south-west, which is rapidly falling to decay. The town is in a ruinous state; and neither merchants nor artisans live in it. Its population consists only of about a dozen agents, who receive goods from the ports of the Red Sea, and forward them to their correspondents at Cairo, together with some shopkeepers who deal chiefly in provisions. The Pasha keeps a garrison here of about fifty horsemen, with an officer who commands the town, the neighbouring Arabs, and the shipping in the harbour. As Suez is one of the few harbours in the Red Sea where ships can be repaired, some vessels are constantly seen at the wharf; the repairs are carried on by Greek shipwrights and smiths, in the service of the Pasha, who are let out to the shipowners by the commanding officer. Suez has of late become a harbour of secondary importance, the supplies of provisions, &c. for the Hedjaz being collected principally at Cosseir, and shipped from thence to Yembo and Djidda; but the trade in coffee and India goods still passes this way to Cairo. I saw numerous bales of spices and coffee lying near the shore, and a large heap of iron, together with packages of small wares, antimony, and Egyptian goods for exportation to Djidda, and ultimately to Yemen and India."—*Burckhardt*, pp. 465, 466.

cient town. The latter stretched towards the north; the site of the present town of Suez having been inhabited only by seafaring people, was then occupied by sheds for the construction of vessels, by quays, and all the characteristics of a seaport.

Suez, now reduced in consequence of its loss of commercial importance to a kind of mole, which contributes to form its port, will be obliged, within no very remote period, to remove once more from its position; for the sand is filling up the harbour in such a manner, that no vessel of any considerable tonnage will be able to enter it, unless the distinguished person who now rules that part of Egypt, shall add another wreath to the glory he has already acquired, by restoring the canal which might unite the two seas, and thus realise the magnificent design of Sesostris — a design, the great utility of which was understood by the caliphs, and by Napoleon, and ought to be appreciated by the enterprising mind of the Viceroy of Egypt.

This small town is at present composed of two squares and two principal streets; one of which runs parallel to the quay, traversing the town from east to west; the other, taking a more oblique direction, forms the bazaars. The houses are built of bricks dried in the sun; the walls of the town and the different court-yards are constructed of large shells, and madrepores (a genus of coral), joined together by mud. The principal buildings, besides four mosques, are, the palace of the governor, two large khans, and a handsome mansion

belonging to a wealthy Arabian, who carries on a trade with Mocha and India. The other habitations are wretched in the extreme.[a]

Suez, like all towns situated on the borders of the desert, is a general rendezvous for the remote provinces; the inhabitants of which, without assimilating to each other, meet together in all the originality of their distinctive characters. Thus, the Mograbin of Fez, the Syrian, the native of Djidda, Cosseir, and Souakem, are found here side by side, presenting the most striking contrasts of physiognomy and costume. In one particular, these border towns resemble those Italian cities, which attract strangers by reason of the natural beauties and interesting ruins in their environs. The whole population seems to be composed of guides — of ciceroni, who, before they set out on their return home, await the arrival of travellers going in the same direction. They vie with each other in offering their services upon the lowest terms; and the whole town seems little better than

[a] "The eastern part of the town of Suez is completely in ruins, but near the shore are some well built khans, and in the inhabited part of the town are several good private houses. The aspect of Suez is that of an Arabian, and not an Egyptian town; and even in the barren waste, which surrounds it, it resembles Yembo and Djidda: the same motley crowds are met with in the streets, and the greater part of the shopkeepers are from Arabia or Syria. The air is bad, occasioned by the saline nature of the earth, and the extensive low grounds on the north and north-east sides, which are filled with stagnant waters by the tides. The inhabitants endeavour to counteract the influence of this bad atmosphere by drinking brandy freely; the mortality is not diminished by such a remedy, and fevers of a malignant kind prevail during the spring and summer." — *Burckhardt*, pp. 467, 468.

a camp prepared to proceed immediately on the march. The latitude of Arabia, the neighbourhood of the desert, the dangers to be encountered, and the character of the inhabitants, impair, perhaps, the general resemblance, by a somewhat graver appearance than Italy presents; but, allowing for the change of scene to Arabia, if we enter into the interests of the Bedouins, and listen to their conversations in the khans and bazaars, we shall find the details exactly the same.

A Turk, for instance, presents himself with two wives and three servants: he wants to go to Gaza, but he does not mean to give more than five piastres for the hire of each camel. Hassan, who had undertaken to be their guide, says that he is afraid of meeting a certain Thyat, who had a quarrel with his father some sixteen years ago; he is assured that the said Thyat is on the road to Kerak; Ibrahim had seen him on the way to Nackel. Aly, who has just returned from Sinai, relates that he met Mousa, who had left Hebron, at a particular encampment, and that he had heard from him of such or such an Alouin. Thus, the desert is occupied only in its own affairs; and in this manner intelligence is communicated. As soon as the first discussions for a reduction of some paras are over, every question being concluded in a sufficiently diplomatic manner, and the best information obtained as to the course which they mean to pursue, the travellers depart without declaring their intentions to any body; proceeding, in the first instance, some leagues to the north, although their

real destination be for the south. This feint is adopted for putting those who may be lying in wait, on a false scent, to deceive those who may be presumed to have any sinister purposes in contemplation, and to ensure the success of the expedition.

Our dromedaries, during the night, crossed the ford which lies to the north of Suez, and waited for us until morning (29th Feb.), when we embarked on the gulf, and in half an hour reached the opposite coast. I had crossed from Europe into Asia within the space of a few minutes. I was not much longer in passing into Asia from Africa. Some writers suppose that it was by the ford just mentioned the Israelites traversed the Red Sea. It appears to me, that the ford in question is too near the northern shore to be rendered consistent with the recorded history of that event: it is much more probable, that they effected the passage at a place much more to the south, where the Arabs frequently cross the gulf even at the present day.

Having spent some time in loading our dromedaries, and in putting ourselves into travelling order, we directed our course to the south, participating in some measure of the excessive delight suddenly experienced by our Arabs, on finding that they once more trod their native land. This enthusiam, which seemed by no means in keeping with the gloomy appearance of the wilderness around us, arises from the sense of unbounded freedom, which they are accustomed to enjoy in

the desert from their earliest years, and from the pleasure which they feel in throwing off all the restraints they are obliged to submit to while sojourning in towns. I observed a similar change of demeanour on the part of the Arabs of Palmyra, when I quitted Hamah, and also amongst the Adouans, after we passed the Jordan: it is a kind of sentiment common to the whole race.

SPRINGS OF MOSES.

TOMBS OF SARBOUT EL CADEM.

CHAP. V.

SPRINGS OF MOSES. — RUHAT MOUNTAINS. — WADY WARDAN. — WADY WISSET. — ROCK OF THE PILGRIMS. — TOMBS OF SARBOUT. — NIEBUHR. — MINES OF SARBOUT. — RUINS. — TURQUOISE STONES. — TRIBE OF OUALED SAID. — REVERIES. — AUTHOR'S CARAVAN. — GIGANTIC DEFILE. — STONE OF MOSES.

At first our route was over a sandy soil, interspersed with flints, and interrupted occasionally by slight ridges. The desert soon exhibited itself in a more monotonous aspect, the coast of the

Red Sea being still about a quarter of a league distant on our right. By the accelerated pace of our dromedaries we should have conjectured at once that we were approaching towards some fountains, even if we had not already perceived the tufts of the palm trees which shade the Wells of Moses. These we reached at half-past ten, and having allowed our cattle to drink at discretion, we sat down and took some refreshment.

The Springs of Moses, so called before the primitive ages of Christianity, have been confounded by travellers with the Mara of Scripture, the fountain which Moses caused to gush from the rock, and the Elim of seventy palm trees. But these wells do not agree in any way with the descriptions of these latter places, which are to be found a good deal more to the south. The fountains at which we rested are not at all connected with any of the events narrated in the Pentateuch. They were used from the most remote period for watering the commercial fleets of the Red Sea, and continued to be frequented for that purpose, down even to the time of the Venetians. From this point I observed the profile of Attaka, a high mountain on the border of the Red Sea; and on the other side the commencement of the range of Djebel Ruhat: between the two, and, as it were, at the very bottom of the cradle which they thus form, is situated the town of Suez.

After taking a sketch of the mountains of Ruhat and of Hammam Pharaoh, I rejoined our caravan, which always kept going on. It had already passed

some rocky hills which were on our road, and gained a vast plain which seemed to have no limit. The chain of the Ruhat mountains extended on our left; on our right the sea, dividing by its blue ground the sands of the desert, looked like a large river, commanded by the lofty mountains of Africa; the whole prospect forming a fine panorama. The profiles, however, of the mountains immediately bordering the eastern and western shores of the gulf of Suez, possess a character of greater distinctness for picturesque effect.

In the course of the day we passed over a considerable tract of marshy soil, which appeared to have been recently inundated. During the rainy season, which occurs here in the months of December and January, all that part of the coast remains under water, on account of its very slight declivity towards the sea. At seven o'clock we arrived at the bed of a torrent, not deep, but wide, and roughened by the rapidity of the current. It is called Wady Wardan. At some little distance from it we found a deep hole filled with water. It was rather salt, but the camels drank it freely. This well, called Abousuera, is one of the usual halts of the pilgrims. We encamped here between a thicket of green shrubs and some small ridges of sand.

We took our departure from Wady Wardan at a quarter past six in the morning (1st of March), and travelled over a country patched here and there with low shrubs, and interrupted by small sand hills. In some places we remarked traces still re-

maining of the annual inundation. We rode on for eight hours, in order to reach the baths of Pharaoh, which are situated at the foot of a mountain of the same name. They presented no object for the pencil, and after examining them we rejoined the camels, which we had sent on before us through Wady Wisset, a valley, or rather the bed of a torrent, parallel to Wady Garandel. Wady Wisset is a precipitous defile, devoid of vegetation; the rocks which form its sides are sometimes of freestone tinted with a red colour, sometimes of chalk of a dazzling whiteness. The traveller is particularly struck by the rude appearance of these rocks, and by the fantastic features of so narrow a passage through these lofty mountains, the first which he has to penetrate. At every turn of this curious passage the aspect of the rocks becomes bolder and more picturesque.

After having traversed this defile for an hour and a half, we reached a more open part of the valley; then leaving Wady Wisset on the left, we entered the valley of Ussaitu, in which some palm trees are to be found. A little farther on we halted for the night, the country around us being arid and desolate in the extreme.

To the north-east of our encampment an elevated peak, called Ras Sal, rose from the chain of Ruhat, which is here called Djebel Sal. Towards the south-east we perceived nothing but limestone, chalk, and clay, the rough beds of torrents, and extensive tracts of territory parched by the sun without a single tree to shade them.

We quitted our encampment at half six in the morning (2d of March), and soon after began rapidly to ascend, until we entered Wady Sal, which, though not extensive, particularly delighted the eye by its verdure, presenting a strong contrast to the fatiguing monotony we had hitherto encountered. We passed the tomb of a Sheick; and at nine, descended towards Wady Taibé. Twelve hours of a wearisome march led us to Wady Nasb, at the foot of a lofty rock of sand stone, by which all pilgrims and travellers usually pass on their way to the convent of Sinai.

During these journies in the desert, where the impressions one receives as one rides along are seldom communicated to others, and remain almost dormant within the mind itself, nothing is more delightful than to meet with the traces of a former traveller, in a place otherwise of no importance. The rock under which we slept at Wady Nasb was the same that afforded shelter to Niebuhr, Seetzen, and Burckhardt. The recollection of this circumstance gave a social character to the spot, and seemed to increase for the moment the number of our companions. A half-formed sketch, slightly drawn on the face of the rock, a few names scratched here and there, scarcely legible, gave life, as it were, to the desert around us, so seldom exhibiting any signs of the scattered population by which it is inhabited.

Niebuhr remained for a while at this place, and his companion, Bauerfeind, made a view of the rock, which he called Wady Ussaitu. While our

people were preparing supper, I also sketched this solitude. The mountains of Tih, and the bustle of our caravan, added some features to a scene by no means picturesque of itself, but which, nevertheless, may possess some interest for a traveller, who, like myself, comes to seek a night's repose beneath the shade of this hospitable precipice.

We resumed our journey before the dawn (3d), in order that we might have time to survey the antiquities of Sarbout el Cadem. After having proceeded for about two hours through rocky valleys, we entered on a small plain bearing that appellation. On the left, the mountains separated from each other by several ravines, were inferior in height to those which rose upon our right, and which being precipitous and terminating in a lofty peak, appeared like the enormous walls of some gigantic fortification. Just at the commencement of the plain there is a large cavern in the rocks, within which we found a fine cascade, walled in on each side by fragments that have fallen from the top. Some tamarisks, acacias, and green shrubs, which grew by these waters, served to mitigate the severe aspect imparted to the whole mountain by the sombre colour of the rocks.

A precipitous, difficult, and dangerous pathway conducted us to the southern summit of the mountain. We were obliged to use our hands as well as our feet in effecting our ascent, which it was no easy matter to accomplish, as the rocks sometimes gave way, and fell with a loud crash into the ravine below. On reaching the top we found a firmer

SARBOUT EL CADEM.

London, J. Murray, Albemarle St. 1836.

Day & Haghe, Lith.rs to the King.

footway along a narrow ridge of the mountain, which was straitened on one side by a large basin, filled with water, during the rainy season, and on the other by a sort of intrenchment of rocks, which towered above the valley.

The passage then became considerably wider, and we reached the funeral monuments, which rise like so many apparitions in the midst of this strange and gloomy wilderness. The first appearance of these tombs astonished us; consisting as they did of stones standing up, carved in the Egyptian style, and placed amidst solitude and silence, without any connection whatever with the neighbouring desert.

When we proceeded through these ruins, and carefully examined the remains of the tombs which still exist, we felt more and more surprised by discovering out of Egypt, thus isolated, and remote from all the haunts of men, that indefatigable taste for the construction of memorials; that unexampled perseverance in labour, which quarried out materials, polished, sculptured, and painted them, and endowed them with all the peculiar national and religious characteristics of that still mysterious country.

These remains, doubtless of great antiquity, occupy a space of about seventy-five paces in length, by about thirty-five in breadth. The grave-stones, about fourteen in number, are partly thrown down, a few are still standing, and their fronts, which are much fretted by the northern blasts, still exhibit the traces of hieroglyphics. They vary in height from five to eight feet; in breadth, from eighteen

to twenty inches; and in thickness, from fourteen to sixteen. We observed here, also, a wall belonging to some inclosure; a portion of a sanctuary, and of a small temple; some sepulchral chambers; a small building, the roof of which is sustained by a pilaster; the fragments of some Egyptian statues mouldered by time; and some square capitals, presenting on each side the graceful head of Isis, with elongated eyes and oxen ears. To the climate and the great purity of the atmosphere these monuments, in hewn freestone, though placed on the top of a mountain, and exposed to every change of weather, as well as to the violence of every wind, must have been indebted for their preservation through so many ages.

These tombs were accidentally discovered by Niebuhr, who was sent, in 1761, by the King of Denmark, to Arabia, principally for the purpose of making researches and copying the inscriptions at Djebel Mokatteb, to which the superior of the Franciscans had drawn a good deal of attention in 1722. But the Arabs, to whom the ruins of Sarbout el Cadem had, perhaps, appeared much more worthy of notice, conducted Niebuhr to this mountain. The representation, however, which that distinguished traveller gave of them, is so inaccurate, on account of the difficulties he encountered in making his observations on the spot, that I apprehend he must have traced them almost wholly from his memory.

There can be no doubt that these monuments are Egyptian. Nevertheless, as there is no ex-

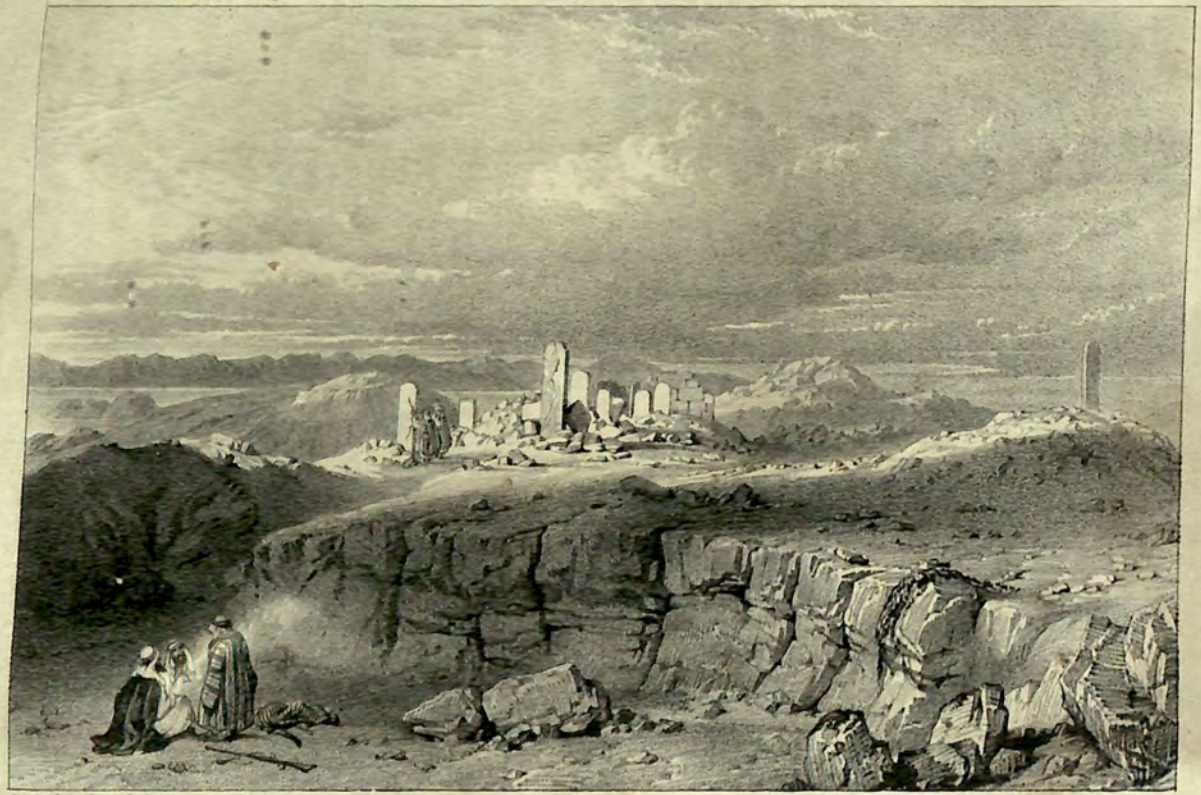
trinsic circumstance to explain the object of a permanent establishment of Egyptians on this almost inaccessible mountain, nor the construction of a cemetery and of the tomb-stones, by which it is ornamented, it becomes necessary to seek for another solution of the question, by carefully examining the country. I was informed by our Arabs, and I knew also, in consequence of my different journeys across the peninsula, which familiarised me with its geological conformation, that an extensive bed of freestone, commencing in the plain of Tih, and extending as far as Nasb and the mountain of Sarbout el Cadem, and in a southerly direction towards Wady Magara, which was stained more or less deeply with oxyde of iron, exhibited in horizontal strata, and in different proportions, but always unequivocally, the presence of copper. These strata the ancients worked at three different points: first, at Wady Magará, which was discovered before the others, on account of its proximity to the ordinary routes of the caravans from the coast, and therefore offered greater advantages; secondly, at Sarbout el Cadem, which seems to have been more productive; and, thirdly, at Nasb, which was abandoned before the experiments with respect to it were completed. I should be disposed to believe, that these three mines had been placed under three different managers, and that the general superintendency of the whole was conducted at Sarbout el Cadem. The importance thus conferred on that station would naturally draw thither several Egyptian workmen, and they most

probably founded the cemetery. Sufficient celebrity may have attached to it to induce the principal miners to feel a kind of ambition to be buried there. Hence they would amass money sufficient to ensure them tombs analogous to their faith, and approaching in some degree to the magnificence of their native country.

An establishment originating in an enterprise of this description, and supplied with every necessary by the leading persons engaged in it, could not have required from the country itself any of those resources, of which settlers having other purposes in view might have stood in need for their subsistence. As to the expenses incurred in the construction of these funeral or religious monuments, they could scarcely have been felt by the parties concerned in an undertaking that yielded so much wealth: besides, these expenses could not have been very great, as the materials were on the spot, and had only to be quarried and fashioned for the purposes for which they were intended.

In order to afford some idea of these ruins, I have selected two points of view, which appear to me to represent them with considerable accuracy. The first, taken from the south-east, which will be found in the plate annexed, exhibits the whole scene at one glance, having on the right an isolated pillar on a small hill; the foreground of the picture is enclosed by rocks split into large fissures.

The second sketch, which forms the vignette to this chapter, gives a side view of the same funereal monuments throughout their whole extent, with



Drawn from Nature by Léon de Laborde

Day & Haghe Lith.rs to the King

THE TOMBS OF SARBOUT EL CADEM.

Peninsula of Sinai.

the isolated pillar as before, and the mountain of Tih in the distance.

These two views embrace the whole of the ruins, as well as the general aspect of the country observable at that height: the impression derived from them would be more satisfactory if it were practicable to transfer to paper the sombre barrenness that prevails over the scene. I wandered for some time amidst the heaps of ruins that lay around, and sketched many of the details, in order that nothing should escape my attention. But they were in such a state of disorder, that I found it difficult to obtain an accurate idea of the forms in which they appeared, when fresh from the chisel of the sculptor. I have copied from them, however, two sets of hieroglyphics, which may, perhaps, serve to fix the date of these monuments.[a]

[a] "I then turned my thoughts to Sarbat al Kardem, and having sent the camels forward, we proceeded thither on foot. After two hours' march we arrived at a water-course; by this we ascended with much difficulty to the top of the mountain, and here we found a temple and a variety of upright stones; the *tout ensemble* resembling a church and churchyard. The temple was never remarkable for size, design, or execution; it has likewise not been spared by the evil genius of Egypt; its paltry remains are almost overwhelmed by sand; labour and curiosity have laid open the wrecks of a few small chambers, and uncovered the fragments of a statue, and the diminutive mimicry of an Egyptian pillar. The monumental tablets are only two feet wide, eight inches thick, and from six to nine feet high. On the eastern and western sides of all are hieroglyphics, and even on the four sides of some of them; but the destroying power has caused the 'east wind to blow,' so that the hieroglyphics which were exposed to its effects are defaced. There is no beauty whatever on the spot, either in art or nature, but it is peculiarly interesting. — The hieroglyphics in this place appear to me in some measure varying from those of Egypt, and intermixed with the Persepolitan character. The pillar, like those

Hussein attended me during my labours, and in order to find occupation for the time that to him appeared tedious in the midst of heaps of rubbish which he deemed so insignificant, he searched amongst the ruins for turquoise stones, which are found here in great abundance, being brought to the surface by the rains. He gave me five of these stones, which were of considerable size, parting with them without the slightest reluctance. The Arabs of the present day attach no value to the turquoise, though in former ages it was much sought after in the East, the most extraordinary medicinal qualities having been ascribed to it. Teifaschi, in his treatise on precious stones, thus speaks of it: "Sadi gives us to understand, that it was highly esteemed in Persia. A person spending a few days on this mountain, where he will be exposed to no danger, and which is not more than six days' journey from Cairo, might make a large collection of turquoises, which, though not to be ranked among the best of precious stones, nevertheless possess a certain value."

From this interesting mountain we shaped our course towards the junction of Wady Feiran with Wady Cheick. The tribe to which our guides belonged, the Oualed Said, was encamped in its neighbourhood. The route we followed passed

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of Dendera, represents the head of Isis; but in this instance the hair forms a curl on either side of the neck; this is the more remarkable, as the volute of the Ionic order is said to be conceived from the same idea; Isis is the same as Io." — *Henniker*, pp. 249, 250.

through a series of ravines, the direction of which it would have been impossible for us to have ascertained, without incessant attention from one moment to another.

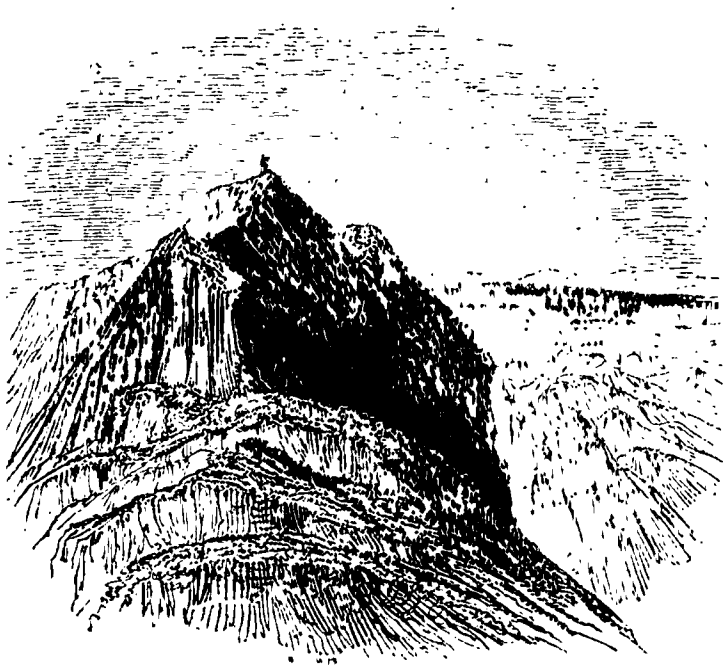
Amid the long valleys succeeding each other in that part of the country, nothing occurs to divert the mind from those agreeable reveries, to which the fine climate and the singularity of our mode of travelling were so well calculated to give birth. It was to me, therefore, a real pain, which, however, I had to undergo fifty times a day, to dissipate these delightful day dreams, and apply myself to my prosaic labours. Whenever I found that our route was tolerably straightforward I stopped, dismounted from my dromedary, who set up the most piteous cries on being kept behind his companions, observed by my compass the direction of a mountain peak, the course of a valley which we had just quitted, or of that in which we were entering, sketched the aspect of the country, and noted remarks in my journal. The caravan, which never tarried, was, by the time I had finished, always at a distance, and as my dromedary was anxious to rejoin his companions, he set off as quickly as possible. But my toil did not end here; I had still to overtake Hussein, who, keeping his place in front of the caravan, was probably singing one of his native airs, which every ravine and gorge of the mountains repeated in their deep echoes. Deafened as he was by the noise which he made, I was obliged to pull him by his long sleeves to draw his attention to my questions.

He answered them at once as well as he could, and was often candid enough to admit, that he knew nothing whatever with reference to the subject of my inquiries. Whenever he gave me a satisfactory answer, I stopped to note it down. Hussein then continued his march and his song. It was in this manner that I filled my journal, thus increasing not a little the fatigue of our tedious journey in the desert.

After having spent two days in the tents of the tribe connected with our guides, we departed (6th) for Akaba, re-ascending Wady Cheick, and descending towards the Red Sea, or rather, the Elanitic gulf, by the great Wady Zackal. While returning by Wady Cheick we traversed, at the embouchure of a ravine, a narrow passage formed by an isolated rock in the middle of the valley. This place is called *El Boueb*. The sides of the valley make a transition from limestone and chalk to granite, and become wider as they get lower, disclosing to view a high primitive mountain, through which there is no passage except a narrow opening between two perpendicular walls of great height. At an angle made by two turnings of this gigantic defile, the point where its seclusion protects it from the rays of the sun, and the voice of man and the cry of the camel are reflected back in sonorous echoes, stands a remarkable isolated rock seven feet in height. Our Arabs dismounted silently from their camels, and approaching it, passed the right hand over its surface, which is rendered smooth by the frequency of these touches, and

then drew it back again to the forehead, crying out, "El Fatha," the usual invocation during journeys and dangers of any description. Our cattle having stopped, as if they had been accustomed to the ceremony, we followed the example of the Arabs; and our gravity during this religious formality pleased them much. The spectacle of our caravan halting in the midst of this magnificent defile, representing as it did a striking trait in the manners of the desert, was highly picturesque; but it was a scene which demanded a more skilful pencil than mine to paint it to advantage.

Tradition relates that Moses rested on this stone, while he was still a shepherd, meditating his projects for the deliverance of his brethren, and the conquest of an entire country, and that he was disturbed from his reflections by one of the goats of the herd of Jethro, which happened to be straying about. Another version of the story fixes upon this stone as the resting-place of Mahomet, while he was still a camel driver, and on his way to Syria, to sell some perfumes conveyed by the camels of Cadiga, the first female who adopted his doctrine. Here also he is said to have composed some verses of that book which was destined to electrify a whole people, and to have invented the religion which was afterwards to captivate that quarter of the world. We could not refrain from dwelling with a lively curiosity upon a spot, where we could trace to their simple origin events of so prodigious a character.



SUMMIT OF MOUNT SINAI.

CHAPTER VI.

MOUNT SINAI. — WADY ZACKAL. — MIDIAN OF JETHRO. — ISLE OF GRAIA. — APPEARANCE OF GRAIA. — TRADITION CONCERNING ABRAHAM. — FIRST VIEW OF AKABA. — RECEPTION AT AKABA. — GARRISON. — DESPATCH TO ABOU RASCHID. — DEPARTURE OF MESSENGERS. — EXCURSIONS. — DANGERS OF THE DESERT. — EXPEDITION TO GRAIA. — OYSTER BED. — WADY EL HENEK

On quitting this passage, which is mentioned by Breydenbach, Lôwemstein, the superior of the Franciscans, and all the pilgrims, the traveller per-

THE WILDERNESS OF SINAI.

(THE OUADI ZACKAL.)

ceives Mount Sinai, whose prominent point is overhung by the mountain of St. Catherine, which is more rounded in its form. They were both then capped with snow, and their dark bases seemed to bring out their whitened summits in bolder relief upon the azure ground of the sky.

We emerged from Wady Cheick, and after having crossed the ridge of a mountain, which forms a grand point of intersection between two declivities, we descended into the valley of Zackal, which continues on to the gulf of Akaba. The route on which we now entered was the most singular that the imagination can picture. The valley, shut in within a width of about fifty paces by masses of granite, of from a thousand to twelve hundred feet in height, which often rose like perpendicular walls even to their very tops, exhibited the appearance of a Cyclopean street, the ravines branching out from which, on each side, seemed to be adjoining streets, all belonging to some ancient and abandoned town. The extraordinary shapes and immensity of the masses accumulated on the right and left were calculated to terrify, and almost overwhelm the mind; an effect which was not a little augmented by the enormous fissures that occurred here and there, presenting huge fragments which had tumbled from the summit of the mountain. The silence prevailing all round us was that of the grave: the wind was unheard amidst these almost subterraneous passages, the sun touched with its golden hue only the most elevated points, and the tranquillity of the place would have been un-

disturbed, had not every step and every sound of our voices been re-echoed from the steeps on each side as we pursued our way.

This curious passage, of which it is difficult to write an intelligible description, leads by a gentle continued declivity to the coast of the Red Sea, amidst the palm trees of Dahab[a], which without

[a] "In one hour and a half we reached Dahab, a more extensive cluster of date trees than I had before seen on this coast; it extends into the sea upon a tongue of land about two miles beyond the line of the shore; to the north of it is a bay, which affords anchorage, but it is without protection against northerly winds. Dahab is, probably, the *Dizahab* mentioned in Deut. i. 1. There are some low hummocks covered with sand close to the shore of the low promontory, probably occasioned by the ruins of buildings. The plantations of date trees are here enclosed by low walls, within many of which are wells of indifferent water; but in one of them, about twenty-five feet deep, and fifty yards from the sea, we found the best water I had met with on any part of this coast in the immediate vicinity of the sea. About two miles to the south of the date groves are a number of shallow ponds into which the sea flows at high tide; here the salt is made which supplies all the peninsula, as well as the fishermen for curing their fish; the openings of the ponds being closed with sand, the water is left to evaporate, when a thick crust of salt is left, which is collected by the Bedouins. Dahab is a favourite resort of the fishermen, who here catch the fish called Boury in great quantities.

"The date trees of Dahab, which belong to the tribe of Mezeine and Aleygat, presented a very different appearance to those of Egypt and the Hedjaz, where the cultivators always take off the lower branches which dry up annually; here they are suffered to remain, and hang down to the ground, forming an almost impenetrable barrier round the tree, the top of which only is crowned with green leaves. Very few trees had any fruit upon them; indeed date trees, in general, yield a very uncertain produce, and even in years when every other kind of fruit is abundant, they are sometimes quite barren. We met here several families of Arabs who had come to look after their trees, and to collect salt. In the midst of the small peninsula of Dahab are about a dozen heaps of stones irregularly piled together, but showing traces of having once been united; none of them is higher than five feet. The Arabs call them Kobour el Noszara, or the tombs of the Christians, a name

any assistance from cultivation are constantly increasing in number, at a point where the sand and the rocks driven down through the valley by the winter torrents form a boundary to the sea. This place I take to be the Midian of Jethro. It is now inhabited only by four poor Arabs, and now and then visited by a few wretched caravans, which come to its well for water.

The Arabian coast from Dahab is bordered by mountains, which, lofty in the distance, decline into low hills as they approach the sea. They afford no traces of vegetation. We observed from hence the mountains to the north, and the outlines of the coast, which we were to traverse on our way to the fortress of Akaba. The coast bristles with rocks, which leave between them gulfs and creeks without number. We passed near the palm trees of Nouebe, found in groups along both sides of the promontory which the torrents of Wady Outir have formed when disgorging themselves into the sea in the rainy season; otherwise that part of the coast is entirely barren and uninteresting.

We at length descended into Wady Taba. This valley runs towards the north-east, and becomes very wide on its approach to the sea. It is planted with a considerable number of tamarisks, and low bushy palms crowd the shore. On making a hollow in the sand, we easily found tolerably good water. Turning round the rock which forms the boundary

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given by them to all the nations which peopled their country before the introduction of the Islam."—*Burckhardt*, pp. 523, 524.

of this valley on the coast, we perceived the isle of Graia[a], a solitary rock in the midst of the sea, looking like a dolphin just showing his back. The ruins which are conspicuous upon this island seemed, from the spot whence we observed them, to have belonged to some large building, the character or style of which, however, we could not then ascertain. In the view which I took of the island and its ruins, as will be seen in a subsequent plate, I combined also the palm trees of Akaba, which are distinctly seen on the right. The position of the mountains and their relative heights are sketched in the distance.

On quitting Wady Taba, we proceeded along the coast, which is much indented with gulfs, to Wady Emrag, where we approached much nearer to the island of Graia. The buildings upon it here presented a very indifferent aspect, altogether disappointing the expectations we had formed of them. A long embattled wall, interrupted at intervals by square towers, runs all round the higher part of the island. On the shore, we perceived the ruins of another wall, which appeared

[a] "My guides told me, that in the sea opposite to the above-mentioned promontory of Ras Koreye, there is a small island; they affirmed that they saw it distinctly, but I could not, for it was already dusk when they pointed it out, and the next morning a thick fog covered the gulf. Upon this island, according to their statement, are ruins of infidels, but as no vessels are kept in these parts, Ayd, who had been here several times, had never been able to take any close view of them; they are described as extensive, and built of hard stone, and are called El Deir, 'the convent,' a word often applied by Arabs to any ruined building in which they suppose that the priests of the infidels once resided." — *Burckhardt*, pp. 511, 512.

to have formed a first line of defence. Beyond these walls there is no appearance of any more ancient buildings, nor of a more interesting style of architecture. Nevertheless, as a fragment of a cornice, or the remains of an inscription might give a new value to what appeared to us parts of a fortress entirely modern, we resolved to visit the island at the earliest opportunity.

As we followed the windings of the coast, we lost sight of the palm trees of Akaba [a] for a while,

[a] "Akaba was not far distant from the spot from whence we returned. Before sun-set I could distinguish a black line in the plain, where my sharp-sighted guides clearly saw the date trees surrounding the castle, which bore N. E. 1 E.; it could not be more than five or six hours distant. Before us was a promontory called Ras Koreye, and behind this, as I was told, there is another, beyond which begins the plain of Akaba. The castle is situated at an hour and a half or two hours from the western chain, down which the Hadj route leads, and about the same distance from the eastern chain, or lower continuation of Tor Hesma, a mountain which I have mentioned in my journey through the northern parts of Arabia Petræa. The descent of the western mountain is very steep, and has probably given to the place its name of Akaba, which in Arabic means a cliff or a steep declivity; it is probably the Akabet Aila of the Arabian geographers; Makrizi says that the village Besak stands upon its summit. In Numbers, xxxiv. 4., the 'ascent of Akrabbim' is mentioned, which appears to correspond very accurately to this ascent of the western mountain from the plain of Akaba. Into this plain, which surrounds the castle on every side except the sea, issues the Wady el Araba, the broad sandy valley which leads towards the Dead Sea, and which I crossed in 1812, at a day and a half or two days' journey from Akaba. At about two hours to the south of the castle the eastern range of mountains approaches the sea. The plain of Akaba, which is from three to four hours in length, from west to east, and, I believe, not much less in breadth northward, is very fertile in pasturage. To the distance of about one hour from the sea it is strongly impregnated with salt, but farther north sands prevail. The castle itself stands at a few hundred paces from the sea, and is surrounded with large groves of date

but soon again distinctly beheld them, to our great satisfaction. He alone who has traversed the desert can comprehend the gratification which the traveller experiences from gazing on these masses of verdure, after the frightful desolation by which he had been so long surrounded. Here, however, we began to feel a little anxiety as to the kind of reception which we were likely to meet with at Akaba, dependent as we were upon the influence which the letter of the Kihaia Bey might exercise, at the distance of 150 leagues from the capital. Henceforward we could reckon no longer upon the law of nations, and however great was our confidence in our guides, it served us to little purpose. Once within the walls of the citadel, we should be at the mercy of the garrison, and beyond the walls we should be exposed to all the malevolence of the neighbouring tribes.

At the extremity of the gulf there is a rock about four feet in height; on this rock is accumulated a quantity of small stones, each of which has been thrown on the heap by persons passing by. This custom, coëval almost with the world, and to which we owe the greater number of the tumuli of anti-

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trees. It is a square building, with strong walls, erected, as it now stands, by Sultan el Ghoury of Egypt, in the sixteenth century. In its interior are many Arab huts; a market is held there, which is frequented by Hedjaz and Syrian Arabs; and small caravans arrive sometimes from Khalyl. The castle has tolerably good water, in deep wells. The Pasha of Egypt keeps here a garrison of about thirty soldiers, to guard the provisions deposited for the supply of the Hadj, and for the use of the cavalry on their passage by this route to join the army in the Hedjaz."—*Burckhardt*, pp. 509, 510.

quity, has a Mahometan allusion to the narrative of the Bible. Mussulmen pretend that Abraham, when conducting his son to the place of sacrifice, here threw some stones to the devil, who wished to prevent him from performing this act of obedience. In pursuance of this tradition, they deposit small stones in certain localities, in order to indicate their good intentions, and their wish to drive away the evil temptations of the demon. Many similar piles are found on the route of the pilgrims to Mecca.

The rock just mentioned serves as a line of demarcation between the Bedouins of the peninsula of Sinai and all the Arabs of the north. The moment we passed this frontier, the protection of our guides was of no use, except in so far as they might assist personally in defending us; and they depended much more upon our guns and pistols for the safety of their dromedaries, than upon their own prowess.

We turned the two bends of the gulf, and leaving on our right the palm trees which border the coast, we came within sight of the fortress of Akaba. A part of the garrison and the inhabitants of the castle were drawn out to receive us. The appearance of our dromedaries in the desert was sufficient to excite the attention of this idle little world, and to give birth to all sorts of suppositions. With the exception of the grand caravan of Mecca, some few troops of camels laden with wheat and beans, and driven by Arabs on foot, are the only visiters who occasionally animate these melancholy solitudes. Hence, two gentlemen, arriving on

their dromedaries in full trot, appeared to the inhabitants to be no less than hadgis, or the bearers of some important tidings.

We dismounted in order to give the usual salute to these people; but we were not a little surprised on receiving from each of them the embrace usually reserved for pilgrims, and in being treated by them with an unexpected degree of veneration. We plainly saw, by the astonishment painted on their countenances, and by the etiquette displayed in their salutations, that they entertained no suspicions about us. Our costume being exactly that of the Arabs of Syria, our arrival by the route of Cairo, and not by that of the pilgrims, seemed to baffle all their conjectures. In order to satisfy their curiosity they followed us to the governor's residence.

Hassan Aga, the governor of the fortress of Akaba, and, in consequence of this title, the humble servant of Mehemet Ali, was already decked out in his splendid scarlet mantle, which he had thrown over his tattered and filthy silken robe. He was prepared to receive us on a small terrace, and had collected around him all the ragged dignitaries of his small garrison. These consisted of the gunner, a little shrivelled man in Moorish costume; the secretary, an old Arab of Cairo, apparelled in the Turkish fashion; and the captain of the troops, muffled up in a singular mixture of Egyptian and Wahabite attire. All these gentry received us standing; when the embraces were over, and each took the place where he was to sit

down, we arranged ourselves in the usual Turkish attitude. Pipes and coffee were then brought, which filled up the pauses of silence usually attending these exhibitions.

My dragoman delivered to the governor the letter of Abib Effendi. The secretary, being the only person in the fortress who knew how to read, was desired to come forward; and he deciphered, in a loud voice, the intentions and wishes of his Highness's minister of the interior. The moment we became known, we declined considerably in importance. As the feelings of respect and fear gave way to a patronising air of benevolence, there was a play of expression on their countenances, which we should have found an interest in observing, if the uncertainty of our situation had not engaged all our thoughts. After a few moments' hesitation, it seemed as if the fear of disobeying an order on the one hand, and the hope of a little gain on the other, induced them to lend us their assistance. Familiarity and good nature having thus replaced the gravity with which we were at first received, we had only to congratulate ourselves on the change.

A letter, dictated aloud by our dragoman to the secretary of the garrison, was placed in the hands of a negro of the tribe of Alaouins, who undertook to convey it to his chief, Abou Raschid. We informed this redoubtable sheick, who had filled the whole country round with the reputation of his valour, that we had an important affair to negotiate with him, and that it would be necessary

for him to repair with the greatest possible expedition to the fortress, where we should give him the requisite details. One of our guides, however, was to accompany the negro, to inform Abou Raschid who we were, and to state to him the real object of our journey, which we wished to conceal from the inhabitants of the fortress. This appointment of a rendezvous astonished them almost as much as our arrival; for they had no idea what there could be in common between us and the chief of a remote tribe. After many vain questions and conjectures on their part, they were obliged to defer, until the return of the messengers, the explanation of the mystery.

The next day we went a little way out of the citadel, in order to witness the departure of our two envoys, upon whom now depended the successful accomplishment of the object which our journey had in view. They proceeded on their way, ascending and descending with the undulations of the country. We soon lost sight of them behind a mountain, which led them into Wady Jetoum.

I endeavoured to employ usefully the time which I had to spare, until the return of our messengers. Besides a mass of information which I collected concerning the country and its population, its commercial interests and political relations, I made a drawing of the fortress of Akaba, set, as it were, in a frame composed of the palm trees by which it was surrounded, and of the mountains and sea which formed its distant horizon. I added, for

the sake of giving it a greater degree of animation, the arrival of a caravan from Mecca, with its variegated costumes.

As Hassan Aga proposed to entertain us at his own expense during our sojourn within his jurisdiction, we resolved, in order to spare him this charge, to make excursions into some of the valleys of Sinai, and to execute our intention of exploring the island of Graia. Before setting out, we paid a visit to Kassar el Bedaoui. This ruin is situated on a promontory overhanging the sea, and bounds, on that side, the small plain in which rise the fortress and palm trees of Akaba. It is probable that a tower was formerly constructed on this point, in order to protect the passage of the pilgrims; but, assuredly, its materials must have been of a better description than those composing the ruin that now remains, which seems rather to have been a wretched cabin than a fortress. An old merchant, whom we met here, told us, during one of our evening conversations, that formerly an iron chain extended from the fort to the isle of Graia, which served to prevent the entrance of any vessels into the gulf. This story, though in itself absurd, as it supposes the manufacture of a chain nearly three leagues in length, nevertheless, by the preservation of such a tradition, has kept up a vague remembrance of the commercial and maritime importance of this gulf at a remote period.

We returned to Akaba to bid the governor farewell, and to thank him for the kindness of his reception. But we were much surprized on see-

ing the gunner and two other persons approaching us with a grave air, and endeavouring to render their looks as forbidding as possible. They sent away the people who were in our chamber; and the gunner solemnly commenced an address, the substance of which was that they owed it to the respect which they entertained for the Pacha and his Kihaia bey, as true believers, to inform us that they had strong fears for our safety, if we should proceed to Calaat and Nackel. We had announced that such was our intention, in order to mislead those who might have been disposed to throw any impediments in our way. They argued, that to travel in the desert was quite a different thing from travelling in Egypt; that in Egypt we might lay our purse down in the morning in the middle of the high road, and that on returning in the evening we should be sure to find it in the same place untouched; but that in the desert, especially on the route which we proposed to take, they were convinced we should be pursued by vagabond Arabs who would attack us in the night-time. They therefore strongly advised us to abandon our intention. We replied, that, well armed as we were, and accustomed to keep watch in turn during the night, we had nothing to fear, but that at the same time we thanked them for their advice. They heaved a sigh, and wished us a safe journey, declaring aloud, that they, for their part, had done their duty, and acquitted themselves of all responsibility.

The whole garrison of the fortress got under

arms, and, with a standard flying, arranged themselves on each side of the gate. Hassan Aga and the gunner accompanied us as far as the tombs; and as we trotted away from this oasis of the desert, we were followed by the most kindly salutations of the inhabitants. These particulars may afford some idea of the advantages which we gained from the mode of travelling we had adopted.

We set out on the 13th of March at a sufficiently early hour of the evening to enable ourselves before night to get out of the direction in which those Arabs might have followed us, to whom the gunner alluded. We halted between the palm trees and an isolated rock to the north-east of the island of Graia. We kindled no fire, lest it might indicate the spot where we had rested: a little bread which we brought with us from Akaba, together with some onions and a few dates, formed our repast. Our arms were charged, and in readiness, and we agreed to keep watch in turn. After having thus taken all necessary precautions, each slept in his cloak, trusting to the vigilance of the sentinel.

The night passed over quietly; and in the morning, to compensate for our frugality the evening before, we made some bread, and breakfasted before we proceeded on our journey. While these preparations were going on, I wandered on the coast, which is characterised by numerous creeks and small promontories. The mountain chains accumulated on the coast, and advancing into the sea, form the promontories, which leave between

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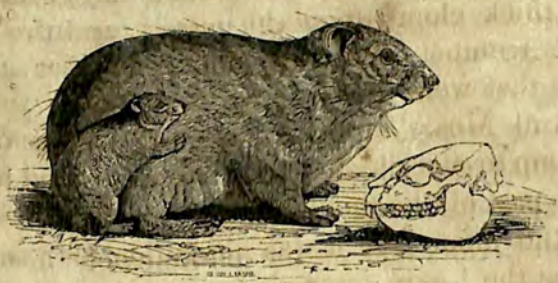
them spaces for the discharge of torrents from several ravines and valleys, these spaces being in fact so many creeks. Caravans sometimes appear here belonging to the Hadgis Mograbins, who occasionally separate from the grand caravan, in order to visit Sinai. On the right are some palm trees and mud huts: the latter belong to the Amran Arabs, who assemble here in the season to gather dates from the palm trees which appertain to them.

Following the line of the coast, we entered a small gulf, to which we were prevented on our former journey from having access by the high tide. It advances a good way into the heart of the mountain, and seems as if it had been intended as a refuge for the vessels of pirates. The rocks protect it on all sides, leaving only a narrow entrance, capable of being easily defended. Although the coast is crowded with shelving rocks, the bottom seems to be composed of sand, and favourable to anchorage. Doubtless the ancient Nabatheans, who scoured the sea, and rendered themselves formidable to the merchant vessels which frequented it, profited of this favourable position, whenever they found themselves unsafe in the archipelago of the Elanitic gulf. The tide on retiring left visible along the coast a bed of rock covered with oysters. We hailed with due reverence this unexpected and delicious appendage to our supplies, and stopped a while to pay it all the homage it deserved.

The caravan halted in Wady el Henek. This valley, surrounded by magnificent mountains of

granite, extends considerably towards the west, and appears, by the mass of rocks collected in its bed, to be the channel of a rapid torrent. From these rocks one may obtain some idea of the geology of that part of the country, as some of the valleys penetrate by long windings farther even than the middle of the peninsula. In the most abrupt passages, near the head, for instance, of each ravine, and at the entrance of the valley, there are large heaps of stones, which having on their way downwards torn the sides of the precipices against which they were dashed by the torrent, thus brought along with them specimens of the geological composition of the entire space they had thus traversed. I observed amongst them a great variety of breccias and pudding stones; the latter being peculiarly rich in their composition.

ISLE OF GRAIA.



EL OUEBER.

CHAPTER VII.

MOUNT SINAI. — THE GAZELLE. — BOTANY OF ARABIA PETRÆA. — EXPEDITION TO GRAIA. — DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND. — CISTERNS. — ARABIC INSCRIPTION. — RETURN FROM GRAIA. —THE GOVERNOR OF AKABA. — DESCRIPTION OF THE FORTRESS. — EVENING SCENE. — ALBANIAN MINSTREL. — A CHASE IN THE DESERT.

In the different commentaries which have been written on the Bible, the question whether volcanos have ever appeared in the peninsula of Sinai has been the subject of grave discussion, inasmuch as if it could be answered in the affirmative, it might be supposed to assist the rationalists in explaining, in a material sense, the interview of Moses with the Deity on the summit of the mountain.

"And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that were in the camp trembled.

"And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the nether part of the mount.

"And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the LORD descended upon it in fire; and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly." [a]

The reports of different travellers are almost unanimous, as to the entire absence of any volcanic traces, not only in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai itself, but also throughout the peninsula. M. Ruppel, one of the most recent visiters of that region, whose acquaintance with natural history enabled him to give a sound opinion on the subject, arrived at a similar conclusion, which he founds upon the total absence of titanite of iron along the coast in which the valleys have their embouchures. Although my different excursions across the peninsula inclined me to adopt the same opinion, nevertheless, I must agree with those who think that the absence of titanite of iron, near the sea, as well as of scoriæ, and of all that light and spongy sort of material usually expelled from volcanos, by no means establishes the truth of such an opinion. The violence of the torrents

[a] Exodus, xix. 17—19.

would afford a sufficient explanation of their disappearance. Farther, among the specimens which I collected on the coast, several have appeared to me to be of volcanic origin. I have submitted them to skilful mineralogists, who thought so too. In order, however, to ascertain the spot where the eruption had taken place, by which those specimens were discharged, it would have been necessary to trace to their sources the valleys at the mouths of which they were found. But my journey having been undertaken principally with the view of making archaiological researches, I could not afford the time requisite for following up this inquiry with success. I am disposed to believe that the specimens, to which I allude, may have proceeded from a part of the peninsula to the south of Djebel Tih.

Hussein and Bicharie, two of our guides, set out upon an excursion, their guns on their shoulders, saying "that they would go to hunt the gazelle," an animal commonly met with in this part of the mountain. Ascending the valley they proceeded to the right, and in the course of a few hours they returned, bringing with them something wrapped up in their cloaks. We saw by the merriment displayed on their countenances, that they had not been unlucky. They immediately produced four gazelles, which they had found in their lair, being the whole of the family, the father and mother and two little animals a fortnight old. These creatures, who are very lively in their movements, endeavoured to bite when they were caught:

their hair is a brown yellow, which becomes pale and long as the animals grow old. In appearance, on account of the great vivacity of their eyes, the head being close to the shoulders, and the buttocks being drawn in, and without a tail, they resemble the guinea-pig. Their legs are all of the same height, but the form of their feet is peculiar; instead of nails or claws, they have three toes in front, and four behind, and they walk like rabbits on the whole length of the foot. The Arabs call it El Oueber, and know no other name for it. It is common in this part of the country, and lives upon the scanty herbage with which the rain in the neighbourhood of springs supplies it. It does not burrow in the earth, its feet not being calculated for that purpose; but it conceals itself in the natural holes or clefts which it finds in the rocks.

The gazelle, though humble be its retreat and modest its appearance, has given rise to many profound researches. Bochart, in a long dissertation, quotes several passages from Arabian authors, which relate to the ouebér. "They represent it," he says, "as something between a cat and a weasel, having a small tail, feeding on herbage, and capable of being domesticated." Bochart evidently thought that the oueber must have been a species of field rat. Prosper Allin speaks of the same animal, when he describes it as "a small creature not unlike a rabbit, which they call the lamb of the children of Israel." Shaw, who cites

this author, adds, that it is found on mount Libanus; "that its fore feet are as short, and its hind feet as long, in proportion, as those of the *jerboa* (which is a mistake); which induces me to believe that it is this animal rather than the *jerboa* that ought to be understood as the *saphan* of Scripture. No one can inform me whence comes the modern name of daman Israel." Buffon adopted this opinion.[a] I have already said, that the Arabs know it by no other name than the oueber: they have no traditions connected with it. Forskal mentions amongst the animals of Arabia, which he had not met with, the *Uabr*, which he describes as "resembling a cat without a tail, feeding on herbage, a native of the mountain;" adding, that "its flesh is eaten by the inhabitants." Burckhardt falls into a grave error when he says, "The Bedouins talk much of a beast of prey called Wober, which inhabits the most retired parts of the peninsula: they describe it as being of the size of a large dog, with a pointed head like a hog."[b] Professor Ritzch, cited by Genesius (note 863. p. 1076.), gives to this animal the name of Hyrax Syriacus, by which it is called in the Berlin Museum, where there were several in 1826, which were brought over by Messrs. Ehrenberg and Emprisch, and also in the Museum at Frankfort, presented by M. Ruppel in 1828. The latter traveller calls it *Waber*,—a difference which proves merely an error

[a] Buffon, Histoire Naturelle, t. xiii. p. 148.

[b] Burckhardt, p. 534. Burckhardt, however, frequently speaks of the gazelle, which he had often seen. — TRANSLATOR.

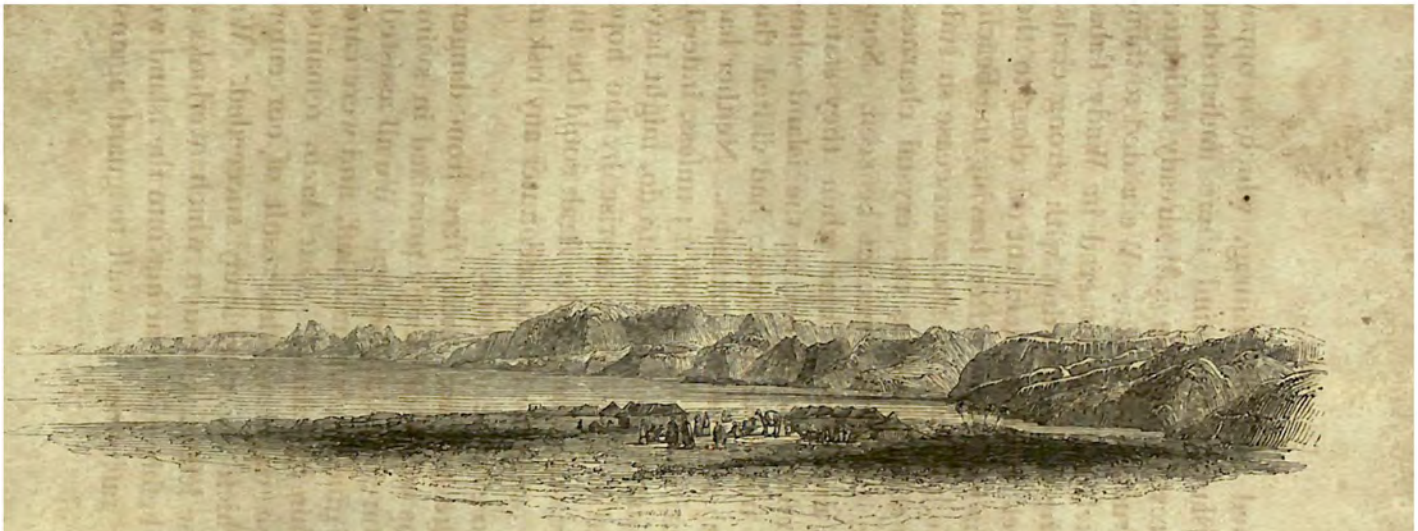
in the interpretation of the vowels. I had the pleasure of sending two of these gazelles to the Jardin des Plantes in Paris.

My time was thus pleasantly occupied in sketching the scenery of the valleys, in forming collections of its minerals and animals, and in classifying and arranging the plants I found on its surface, and the shells which I picked up on the shore. Although archaiology and topography were my principal objects, nevertheless I availed myself of every opportunity of extending my acquaintance with the country. Botany, indeed, of all the sciences, is the most difficult to be pursued amid these deserts; for the aridity of the sands and rocks prevents the growth of plants: their herbage is miserable in the extreme. The few plants which are found here and there seem to struggle for existence between the humidity of the night, which nourishes them, and the burning heat of the day, by which they are withered. In some parts of Arabia Petræa, however, the vegetation is better, especially where springs happen to be combined with protection from the sun.

The time for the return of the messenger whom we had despatched to the chief of the Alaouins was approaching, and we had still to make our expedition to the isle of Graia. The camels were therefore loaded, and we set out, with a store of bread, intending to breakfast in the neighbourhood of the gulf where we had found the oysters. I observed upon its shore different species of shells, such as I had never met with elsewhere.

We returned to Wady Emrag, which is opposite to the island, and found there undisturbed some palm trees which we had already collected for the construction of a raft. We added to them branches which we had gathered in Wady Taba, and bound the whole together with strong cords. Palm branches which we had cut off close to the tree served us for oars. After leaving the beach, the rocks which abound on the coast cease so suddenly that, notwithstanding the crystal clearness of the water, the bottom cannot be seen. Seetzen's guides misinformed him when they stated that they could walk across to the island when the tide was out. No European had visited this island since the time of the crusades. Neither had any of the natives set foot upon it; unless, indeed, a fisherman, having nothing else to do, might have been tempted to such an enterprise by the hope of finding treasure there. An Arab could be induced by no other motive to encounter any risk in attempting to explore its ruins.

Our voyage was not wholly free from danger, as none of us were sufficiently practised in swimming to venture out a mile at sea. We all assisted, however, in guiding our frail skiff, and were careful to maintain its balance. Our Arabs remained on the shore watching the result of our enterprise, in which we completely succeeded. We landed to the left of a bastion which overlooks a valley; but before going farther into the island we took in our raft over the wall to guard against accidents.



COAST OF THE ISLE OF GRAIA.

SOCIETY

We had brought with us a large flag, which we resolved to plant on the highest bastion of the island; and leaving on the right a small tower, we passed through the ruins of the outer wall: I then found, that I had committed a serious mistake in leaving my sandals behind. Accustomed as I was to walk barefooted on the burning sands, I had not given a thought to the sharp-pointed fragments through which I was now obliged to tread my way amidst these remains of a former age; but it could not be remedied; and I passed on as well as I could, amongst fallen stones, by a rapid descent towards an opening which we perceived in the inner wall. It would be difficult for the reader to imagine the strange and savage appearance which M. Linant and I presented, while I carried the flag, and my friend marched on before me, as if we were going to storm this fortress of the desert, now become a desert itself. We entered by the right of a ruined bastion, through a small square which led to the middle of the fortress. I then drew forth from my tarbouch (a Greek cap which I wore under my kefieh) a sheet of paper, a pencil, a penknife, and a compass, and proceeded to draw the plan of the island as accurately as my limited means allowed.

With respect to the history of Graia, it may be sufficient here to say, that after having been a sort of suburb to Ela from the earliest period of the navigation of this gulf, and a defence of that port against tribes whom it was difficult to subdue, it became the theatre of Christian valour in the time

of the crusades, and was wholly abandoned about the fourteenth century.

The little square in which we now found ourselves seemed to be the court of the principal edifice, which rose on the south to our right, and which I called the Governor's palace. A small passage leads to a large square, whence we discerned the eastern coast of Arabia. From this point we beheld on our left, extending to a considerable distance, a series of vaulted buildings consisting only of one story: their narrow divisions, and the manner in which they communicated with each other, indicated that they were intended for the troops of the garrison.

We proceeded to the north, leaving on our left a large excavation in the rock, which appears to have been used as a reservoir for water, after having furnished part of the materials for the walls and other buildings in its neighbourhood; and we reached another excavation, which turned out to be a remarkably fine cistern. I judged it to be about twenty-five feet in depth. From its being well cemented, and supported by large pillars, I presumed it to be of an age anterior to the construction of the fortress. I observed no steps into it; the water must therefore have been drawn out through an opening made in the top. Gutters skilfully laid along the adjacent buildings and courts conducted the rain water into this great cistern; and when this was once filled, the overflow passed into the reservoir. This arrangement shows the great abundance of rain which fell here

during the season: at the same time it is not difficult to imagine the precarious situation of the garrison in years of drought, if it had no other means to rely upon for the supply of water. It is not improbable that whatever power was mistress of the island was mistress also of the sea, and was enabled to make up any deficiencies which might arise in that respect by means of vessels from the wells of Akaba, Ouesch, or Nouebe.

On pacing round the island, I found its circumference to be about 1650 feet. While proceeding along the outer wall of the bastions to the west, I found encased in it a white stone covered with an Arabic inscription. It was very imperfect, as the stone was a good deal worn away. The characters appeared to be of the fourteenth century, an epoch which agrees with the date of the other buildings.

Towards the south there is a small tract of land covered with grass and birchwood, which, however, seems to be occasionally invaded by the sea. In its neighbourhood is a large marsh formed by the waves which break over the walls in tempestuous weather. We planted our standard on the highest rock in that part of the island, and took possession of it in the name of France. If the violence of the winds have not yet overthrown that ensign, the next traveller who succeeds us may perhaps behold it with pleasure as a remembrance of those who, like himself, lately wandered on that shore.

A breeze rising suddenly in the north, which

threatened to cut off our retreat, compelled us to finish our labours. I put up all my papers and instruments in my cap, and returned to the bastion, where our raft was drawn up. It was forthwith launched again, and we returned without loss of time to terra firma. My feet were so much lacerated that it was with great difficulty I could reach my sheepskin, on which I lay down, and slept till next morning.

There was nothing now to detain us in this barren valley, as we had examined the ruins of the island; we therefore set out for Akaba, hoping that we should find our messenger returned, or that at least we should not have long to wait for him. We were received at the fortress as old acquaintances, without any etiquette, and in a most friendly manner. We found Hassan Aga as gloomy as ever. The ramadan had commenced; and he had no longer his hours of repast, his coffee and pipe, to interrupt the usual monotony of his life. Time seemed to oppress him with its weight: he counted on his watch the minutes as they passed, every minute appearing to him an hour. The gunner still preserved his airs of self-importance: he would have us lodged in his house, and he treated us most hospitably.

The following day, I made a view of the fortress of Akaba. The soldiers of the garrison, far from obstructing my labours on this occasion, on the contrary, gave me all the assistance in their power: they helped me to measure with my tape in all directions, and desired no other reward for their

exertions than the pleasure of watching my operations, which they did not understand, and of handling my instruments, which, without great vigilance on my part, they would have speedily destroyed.

The fortress of Akaba is built on a regular plan, and exhibits the same arrangement and system as all those which have been constructed for the protection of the caravan from Mecca. It is at present, externally at least, in a sufficiently good state to resist the inroads of the neighbouring tribes, who, though not deficient in courage, have no means for enabling them to assail it with success. Within the fortress several good habitations have been suffered to fall into decay, while others have been constructed of mud in a most slovenly manner. The governor has taken to himself the south-western bastion, and enlarged it considerably. The gunner, who is the military chief, inhabits the bastion to the south-east, and, like a veteran artillery man, sleeps by the side of a cannon. This gun, a twelve-pounder, and another which is planted in the north-eastern tower, are the only pieces capable of being discharged in case of an attack, — an event, however, of which happily there is little danger. The gunner adds to his warlike occupations the more peaceable pursuits of a merchant: he has converted a ruined mosque into a warehouse. A well lately excavated, and a palm tree, are the only objects which attract attention in a court indifferently levelled, and surrounded by ruinous buildings blackened with smoke.

Laborde del.t L. Haghe lith. Dav.d Haghe Lith.rs to the King

THE CARAVAN FROM MECCA, ENTERING THE FORTRESS OF ACCABAH

A few mud huts belonging to Arabs, who live on the small profits they derive from selling butter and other provisions to the soldiers of the garrison, some tombs of former inhabitants of the fortress, and of pilgrims arrested on their pious expeditions by that malady which a sight of the prophet's sepulchre would have cured, occupy the northern borders of the fortress: on the east, hills of sand, forming part of the ranges of Djebel el Akaba, descend even to its walls.

The mogreb[a] at length approached: the emotion which the arrival of that hour excited in the fortress and its neighbourhood had already subsided, and the sun, like a disk of fire, was about to disappear behind Mount Mahammar, gilding with its last rays the prominent rose-coloured points of the granite rocks. The people belonging to the fortress were returning within its precincts, some to answer the roll-call, some to enjoy their repast after the abstinence of the day, all to seek protection behind the gate from the alarms of the desert. An Arab soldier, who was returning from the chase, bore a long gun, incrusted with mother of pearl, on his shoulders: he had in his hand a hare and two aquatic birds, which afforded a pretty good proof of his success. A little further on, a fisherman was trudging homewards, his net, which was slung over his shoulder, filled with fish of different colours, violet, vermilion, and the hue of the poppy. Our Bedouins were driving on be-

[a] Sunset.

fore them their dromedaries, which had just been watered: a herd of small black goats was following them; and some Arab women carrying children in their arms, others with vases of water on their heads, closed the line of this procession. Their antique-looking forms, clothed in light drapery, appeared and disappeared amongst the tufts of the palm trees, like those shadows which the sun when setting so rapidly produces and effaces. Tranquillity reigned all around; and I was retiring towards my retreat for the night, when a sonorous, though somewhat nasal voice, accompanied by the vibrations of an instrument, attracted my attention. I approached the shore whence it proceeded, and beheld a still more interesting picture than that I had just witnessed. In the distance were the setting sun and azure sea, and rose-coloured mountains; while on the peaceful shore, beneath the shade of some beauteous palms, an Albanian, a stranger, like myself, in that country, was soothing his sorrows by recalling the songs of his childhood, and the melodies of his native mountains. Some goats grouping near him forgot the hour of repose; and even the Bedouin, as he passed, seemed not inaccessible to a touch of sympathy.

Our days passed on tediously enough: at night we had long conversations. In the morning we made excursions in the eastern valley, to see a stone with *inscriptions* on it, or to hunt hares, attended by a greyhound of the desert, an animal extremely slender in form and fleet in movement, strongly resembling those which are seen in Egyptian paintings.

GREYHOUND.

The hare bounded over the sands, the hound pursued it closely, and our dromedaries, with expanded nostrils, with nose on high, and stretched out neck, threw out their long legs, and seemed to split the air. The arid desert, the naked mountains, a broiling sun, our little troop moving through that boundless solitude, and our shouts, which, enthusiastic as they were, made scarcely any impression on the surrounding silence, associated strangely together, during our sports. When we returned to Akaba with our prey, every body was alarmed at our long absence. The whole population, accustomed to be shut in between four walls, tremble when any one goes out to any distance. They tell you, that you should go always well attended to visit the palm trees or the gardens beyond the walls: they have no idea of security except within their battlements. Theirs must, indeed, be a wretched kind of life, since they are thus deprived of the only privilege these barren sands can afford —independence, — which alone can render the desert endurable.

CHAPTER VIII.

ENNUI. — WATERING PLACES. — MOUNTAIN STREAMS. — SCORPIONS. — RETURN OF MESSENGER. — THE ALAOUINS. — ARRIVAL OF CHIEFS. — ABOUDJAZI. — APPEARANCE OF THE CHIEFS. — SUPPER. — A DIVAN. — NEGOTIATIONS. — DISCUSSIONS. — ARRANGEMENTS FOR JOURNEY TO PETRA. — BURCKHARDT. — FEAR OF THE FELLAHS. — BED OF THE ALAOUINS.

THE governor usually came in the afternoon to interrupt our occupations, and solely with a view to pass away the time, which abstinence from the pipe and from his usual meals rendered insupportable to him. An hour before the mogreb he left us, to ascend the terrace of the bastion which overlooks his house. There his large figure might be seen every evening, his eyes alternately watching the pointers of his watch and the descending sun, the disappearance of which he awaited with infinite impatience. Sometimes we joined him; and placing our watches by the side of his, we gave him one employment more, his limited mind being quickly absorbed in comparing their relative indications of the progress of time.

I went down to the shore, and took a view of the fortress at that interesting moment when day was just fading into night. In the foreground are seen the palm trees which encircle the site of the ancient Elana or Aila, and also the high mountains of Mahammar, which were about to conceal the sun

behind their tops, giving, at the same time, the signal to the fisherman, seated on a raft of palm trees, to draw himself to the coast by the cord which was made fast there.

On returning, I met our people, who brought out the camels to water near the sea; I followed them, to examine the source whence they drank, and to see if the water were good. Judge of my surprise when I beheld the Arabs making hollows with their hands in the beach which the sea had covered but a few moments before: they penetrated to a foot in depth, when the hollow was immediately filled with excellent water. The camels drank of it profusely.

The pure element may be obtained in this manner all along the coast below the palm trees; and although it is separated from the sea only by the sands on the surface, nevertheless, it will be found quite sweet after the first ebullition passes away, for in the beginning it is mixed with the salt water, with which the sands are impregnated. The hollows are filled in less than one minute. The whole of the neighbouring coast, when the tide is out, is excavated in this way, to supply the wants of the fortress. When the tide returns, the inequalities thus formed are soon made level by the action of the waves. These fountains, from their novelty, excite the stranger's astonishment; but they are easily explained by the nature of the coast. A layer of sand extending from the embouchures of the valleys covers the mass of rocks, which are found gradually descending to the

borders of the sea, where they appear shelvy at low water. The springs of the different valleys to the east, as well as the rains which fall there, have no outlet except that which they can find between the layer of sand and the solid bed of rock; hence they descend towards the sea, passing through the palm plantations, which they irrigate: they appear at the same level wherever a hollow is made, either within the walls of the fortress, or among the palm trees, or on the edge of the sea, where they are obtained with the least degree of labour.

The following morning we were about to take our coffee, when a little black urchin belonging to the governor, who was running about barefooted through the chambers and passages, set up the most inhuman cries. It appeared that on going out of our apartment, he was stung by a scorpion which he had trod upon. He must have suffered excessive pain; for although of a race which bears every thing with remarkable patience, he rolled on the ground, grinding his teeth, and foaming at the mouth. We knew of no remedy by which we could afford him relief. The people of the fortress put a bandage on the wound, which, like most of their remedies, produced little effect. After three long quarters of an hour of suffering, he complained less, but he could make no use of his foot, which was very much inflamed. Our friends, who had been accustomed to accidents of this kind, looked upon it as an ordinary affair, but advised us, at the same time, to be on our guard, as the animals in question abounded in the walls.

A visit to the site of the ancient town which gave its name to the Elanitic Gulf occupied our morning. Its ruins consist, at present, only of a few mounds of earth and rubbish, amongst which a single block of white marble appears to be the only remarkable object. Nevertheless, this total absence of vestiges of the town did not destroy the interest we felt in a site which, from the time of Solomon, has found a place in our records.

We should have despaired of the return of our two envoys, if we had not been informed at noon, that an Arab had been perceived on a dromedary in a plain to the north of the fortress. He turned out to be one of our messengers; and although, on one hand, the pleasure may be imagined with which we received this intelligence, on the other, we felt no slight anxiety on observing that he returned without any escort to conduct us. He dismounted from his dromedary as soon as he came up to us, saluted us in the usual form, but did not utter a syllable which had any reference to his journey. It was not until he was alone with us in our own apartments, where he had nothing to apprehend from the indiscretion of his hearers, that he related all that had happened to him. After three days of forced marches he reached the camp of Akmed-Raschid; but the chief was absent, he having proceeded to the encampment of the Benisackers, in order to obtain satisfaction for a robbery committed on a herd belonging to one of the Alaouins. Our Arab was not able to go after him so far; he found, however, in the same encampment,

a brother and four nephews of Akmed-Raschid, with whom he might have treated, but not having felt assured of the respect which these relatives of the chief of the Alaouins could command, he negotiated at the same time with Aboudjazi, the chief of a portion of that important tribe, and who, according to the report of the Arabs, would have great influence over the Fellahs of Wady Mousa. These six chiefs of the encampment, relatives or allies of the principal chief, came after him mounted on dromedaries, and attended by two men on foot. Our Tohrat mingled with his narrative a description of the astonishment which he felt on seeing the horses, the tents, and the numerous herds of that rich and warlike tribe, and also of the eloquence and address which he made use of in order to induce the chiefs to abandon for a while their tents and their own interests, and to come and be our guides. In spite of the excellence of these arrangements, we were dissatisfied at not having Akmed-Raschid with us, of whose good faith, and of whose power over these tribes, which are bound together by the most fragile bonds, we had heard so much. Under his guidance we should have been free from all alarm; whereas, under the protection of the others, we could not be without feelings of distrust.

About three o'clock the Alaouins were announced. We went up to the governor's in order to receive them with greater form. From his terrace we saw them enter the court, where they made their dromedaries lie down, leaving them at

the same time to the care of two pedestrian attendants. There was, in the arrival of these chieftains, in the appearance of their simple and tattered garments, their expressive features, the fantastic and gaily coloured ornaments of their camels, and in the respectful salutations of all the people of the fortress, who collected around them, something antique and scriptural. Jacob and his sons, on their way to Egypt, the Magi arriving from remote regions, or those kings of Arabia so often mentioned in the Bible, seemed to be pictured in these chiefs of the desert. They hastened, the eldest leading the way, towards our bastion. We received them at the top of the steps after the fashion of the Bedouins, that is to say, taking their right hand, and raising it to the forehead: when we were all properly placed, we then squatted on the ground. The governor, who had gone to put on his best red benisch, a kind of large pelisse, came and joined us, and saluted each in turn.

During these first forms of custom between the parties arriving and receiving—forms sufficiently insipid and fatiguing—I examined, with some attention, the figures and features of our guests, in order to satisfy myself as to the sort of people to whose care we were about to intrust ourselves. At first sight, the impression which they made was by no means favourable: there was something savage and haggard in their appearance, which offered a disadvantageous contrast even to that of our Tohrats and of the people of the fortress. What struck me most

was the astonishing resemblance between these persons and all the Arabs of Syria whom I had yet beheld. They appeared to be all members, in fact, of the same family. He who appeared to be treated with the greatest respect, who advanced at their head, was spokesman on all occasions, and from his age alone would have attracted attention, was Aboudjazi, the chief of a great part of the tribe. He was a little old man with a white beard, whose delicate features and cheerful look indicated great benevolence. His costume was characterised by all the simplicity of the desert: the only thing he wore by way of refinement was a piece of white muslin round his kefieh. He held in his hand a staff of that ancient form which may be found among the hieroglyphics, and which is still so commonly used by the Bedouins of Syria, that at Damascus the preparation of these staffs is a trade of itself, and has a separate bazar.

After Aboudjazi, came Omar Abou-Raschid, brother of Akmed-Raschid. His dress differed from that of the others, and closely resembled the costume usually worn among the inhabitants of towns. His dark beard and eyebrows, as well as his coarse and prominent features, were indicative rather of cold malignity than of any other sentiment. Another, who was named Ackmed, added to a mild expression of countenance frank manners, and a chivalrous air, which from the first moment prepossessed us in his favour. The others were distinguished by no striking peculiarities. Squatted

in such a manner that they allowed neither their hands nor their feet to be seen, their figures were hidden beneath the fragments of their kefiehs, and nothing was distinguishable except their penetrating eyes. Altogether they exhibited a grave and mysterious appearance, caused in some degree by the embarrassment which they felt in finding themselves within the walls of a fortress, and in the presence of strangers.

Old Djazi told us that he was a good deal fatigued, that he had travelled almost constantly day and night, and that the heat and the ramadan had rendered the journey one of difficulty to him. They were asked if they had met any Arab or seen any encampment on their route. Nothing was talked of at first except trivial matters, which had no connection whatever with the real object of their arrival. This reserve was practised on both sides, with a view not unnecessarily to awaken attention to the only subject of real importance to us, and to prevent discussions and complaints concerning those sorts of arrangements in which particular interests and ill-defined rights frequently come into collision.

At sunset an enormous dish of rice was served in the governor's gallery, together with a sheep, which we had ordered to be cooked in different ways, and to be served on several dishes. The slave who bore them reminded us, by his features and attitudes, of the graceful paintings seen on the Egyptian monuments.

SLAVE.

The charm of this resemblance was far from injuring the originality of the picture. Fifteen persons sat down in a circle, and from the moment the first sound of the *Bismillah* was pronounced, the new-comers might be easily distinguished by their peculiar voracity. The oblique position which, in consequence of the number of the guests, each person was obliged to assume, offered no impediment to the rapid movements of their right arms, which seemed to increase in number while they were constantly plunging into the pilau.

When the repast was over, an adjournment took place to the governor's wainscotted gallery, which was lighted by a few lamps. The governor, Aboudjazi, and we were seated at the extreme end; the different chiefs of the Alaouins, our Tohrats, some other Arabs, and the people of the fortress, followed, forming a circle round the chamber; the door was crowded by persons who could find no other place. My dragoman took his seat in the middle of the circle, in order to explain to us such words as we did not understand, and to assist when our knowledge failed to supply us with the expressions of which we stood in need. It

was in this manner that we formed what was called a divan, and that we proceeded to negotiate the conditions upon which our journey was to be performed.

The first question was put on our side, our object being to know if we could go to Wady Mousa mounted on our dromedaries. Aboudjazi assured us that we could; adding, at the same time, that he would be answerable for them, and would look upon them as his own. We would, undoubtedly, have been perfectly satisfied with this promise; but our Tohrats forthwith proceeded simultaneously to exclaim, and to protest that they would not enter a territory where they had no guarantee for their safety. On the other side, the Alaouins vociferated that they had nothing to fear, inasmuch as engagements were made in their behalf in the presence of the governor and the topschi (the gunner). "And," cried out Hussein solemnly, standing up at the same time, "if one of our party be killed, we shall have two Alaouins in exchange." Upon this the clamour became still louder; each man was anxious to take part in the discussion, and ranged himself on one side or the other. We knew not how to obtain a hearing; and to put an end to this uproar, as our Tohrats no longer listened to us, we arose and returned to our apartments, doubting whether some obstacles to the completion of our journey might not proceed from our own guides. They followed us; but judge of our astonishment when we were alone, on seeing them break out into a burst of

laughter, saying that all this clamour was nothing more than a *ruse*, in order to compel the Alaouins to pay strict attention to their promises, and to establish, before setting out, all the conditions of the bargain in the most positive manner. They added, that they had quitted Cairo to accompany us during our journey, and that they risked not only their dromedaries but their heads if it failed. We paid no further attention to the submissiveness which they showed on this occasion; they had already accustomed us to it, and we had no reason to think it insincere. It only remained for us to admire the tactics by which they contrived to conceal their real fears under the mask of simulated passion throughout this discussion. The whole of this comic scene, so characteristic of the manners of these tribes, served as a lesson to us for the future, teaching us to extract all the benefits we could from the "hubbub wild" of these Arabs.

We then returned with all due gravity to the divan, having, as we wished it to be supposed, succeeded in persuading our guides to come to terms; and it was arranged that we should go to Wady Mousa, to Mahan and Shobek, in short, to every place under the authority of the Alaouins. Old Djazi seemed, however, dissatisfied with our wishing to visit Shobek; alleging that he was unwilling to conduct us thither, as his people had killed one of its inhabitants the year before, and he was apprehensive of reprisals. We were, nevertheless, upon the whole, well pleased with the

frankness and civility which these people exhibited on this occasion; and we had nothing more to insist upon, except a clear understanding as to the time we were to remain at Petra. We were resolved on having this point fixed beforehand, and to make it one of the conditions upon which the liberality of our reward should depend when we returned. A sojourn for any time in the valley of Mousa was denied to all our predecessors; but it was the only means by which we could hope to render our journey useful. We did not intend merely to see Petra, but also, as our Arabs said, to carry it away in our portfolios. This matter was attended with as little difficulty as the others. "Please God," exclaimed old Djazi, "you shall remain there twenty days — a month if you like!" No bargain was made as to the amount of pecuniary compensation we were to give: that was left over for future settlement, according to the discretion of each party. Our departure was fixed for the next day.

A conversation arose about the travellers who had preceded us to Wady Mousa. We questioned our new friends as to Burckhardt's visit: they did not remember having seen or heard of any Frank at that period. We the more admired the circumspection of that celebrated traveller, who had thus succeeded so well by his costume and manners in deceiving a people who are always on the watch for strangers. We next spoke of the Europeans who had penetrated ten years before into the mysterious valley, under the guidance of

their relative Akmed-Raschid. We alluded to the journey of Mr. Banks and his companions, of whom we were anxious to hear some details. But we no sooner entered on this subject, than we found it was peculiarly disagreeable to the Alaouins. There was a confusion in their replies, which clearly gave us to understand that they wished we should pass to some other topic. They seemed to be in the presence of witnesses before whom they were desirous of keeping their mouths shut. Djazi himself made no answer at all. We did not discover the reason for this mystery until afterwards. We terminated the conversation by alluding to the visit of Messrs. Strangways and Anson to the ruins. We learned that these two travellers reached Wady Mousa under the guidance of a single Arab from Gaza, and that they had not been at all annoyed by the peasants of the place, except for the purpose of procuring presents from the strangers (baxisch).

This information led us to hope that we should meet with no difficulties on our journey: nevertheless, when we interrogated our new friends as to the character of the Fellahs, the inhabitants of Wady Mousa, they did not conceal their opinion, and it wasobvious that, under an air of affected contempt, they really felt a strong apprehension of the evil disposition of that people. The prodigious number of their guns was again and again adverted to in the replies which we received.

It was late when we retired. We proposed that the chiefs of the Alaouins should sleep in our

apartments, but they all declined our offer, and went down to the court, where they lay down beside their camels. This simplicity of manners, preserved without change through so many ages, could not but excite our admiration, when we reflected that these chiefs, who exercise dominion over a vast tract of territory, who by merely pronouncing an order might cause the caravans of Mecca to be stopped or plundered, nevertheless travelled like the most humble camel-drivers, sleeping on the bare ground of the court, in the midst of the chambers which were offered for their use.

TOHRATS.

CHAPTER IX.

PREPARATIONS FOR DEPARTURE. — WADY ARABA. — AN ARABIAN TALE. — TENDERNESS TO ANIMALS. — SCORPIONS OF THE WILDERNESS. — PEDESTRIAN HUNT. — WADY GARANDEL. — NIGHT SCENE. — APPROACH TO PETRA. — VISIT OF MR. BANKS. — ARABIAN POLICY. — ENCAMPMENT OF PEASANTS. — FIRST VIEW OF PETRA. — PROPHECY OF JEREMIAH. — MONUMENTS.

The loss of time which was caused by the tardy journey of our messengers involved us in increased expenses, which it was impossible for us to discharge with the money we then possessed. I therefore sent Mohammed, one of our guides, to Cairo, to whom I gave an order on M. Pacho, my banker, the amount of which he was to receive partly in Spanish dollars, partly in Venetian sequins. We calculated that Mohammed would require eight days to go, and as many to return; and that allowing for other delays which he might meet with, he would probably be back at the fortress by the time we should ourselves return.

Early the next morning M. Petit-Jean and my dragoman undertook to obtain provisions for us from the topschi. One would have supposed, from the injunctions given to us on that subject by Aboudjazi, that we were to prepare for a voyage to the Indies. He assured us that we could not count on finding any resources whatever on the

way, because it would be necessary to avoid communicating with any of the inhabitants whom we might meet, as the plague was making frightful ravages amongst them. We were consequently obliged to purchase a large store of beans, flour, rice, butter, coffee, in short, every thing necessary for the subsistence of eighteen men and fifteen camels for a period of twenty days, or, in other words, for a journey of two hundred leagues. The gunner, who sold us these provisions at a sufficiently dear rate, evinced, however, every disposition to facilitate our arrangements. He agreed to receive nothing until the Arab should return whom we had sent to Egypt, contenting himself with our signature to a bill payable at Cairo, *in case of death*, which he demanded in a mere business-like way, for the amount we now owed him.

All our friends in the fortress embraced us in the kindest manner, wishing us a safe return; and the clamour occasioned by the cries of the camels, mingled with the discussions that usually arise during preparations for departure, did not subside until, arranged in a line, we set forth on our expedition.

We soon left behind us the palm-trees, and on the left, the ruins of Elana, and a channel through which ran the waters of some neighbouring valleys. We then entered into Wady Araba, the plain of Elath and of Ezion Gaber, the Scriptural route of the Red Sea, the usual road of the commercial caravans towards the entrepôts which formed the communication between Aila and Syria. This

extensive valley is as barren as the desert; nevertheless, at this time of the year, not yet long after the rainy season, a little verdure remained on the small patches of earth which were formed here and there in the midst of the sand. We left on our right Wady Jetoum.

Aboudjazi, who led our caravan, gave the signal for halting, by making his camel lie down not far from the extremity of the great valley of Cherif-Hadid. We had hitherto treated our guides with a certain degree of ceremony and respect; but we now began to grow more familiar on both sides, and they gradually conformed to our manners. As the first mark of confidence which they reposed in us, they related, while we were all taking our coffee, a singular story which had some connection with the name of the neighbouring valley. The place where we were assembled, the starry heavens above us, a brilliant fire which gleamed on the auditory, and the form of the narrative, which I by no means pretend to imitate, bestowed upon the whole scene a peculiar charm.

The tenor of the story was, that in the time of the Emir Diab there lived a Christian named Hadid, who occupied Wady Jetoum and the country to the east of it. He was at war with the tribes of Wady Araba, and erected in the middle of the valley a high wall to shut up the passage against his enemies. In addition to his splendid arms, his garments, and his plume of white feathers, Hadid possessed a beautiful horse, on which he descended by the valley, and suddenly attacked his enemies,

massacred and plundered them; and after loading himself with booty, fled with all the rapidity which his courser could command, that animal being the only one in existence which could leap over his wall. The valley was soon filled with blood, and desolation began to spread around. It was for this reason that the Emir Diab came to the assistance of the Arabs of the valley, and captured Hadid as soon as he reached the ravine, where we were now encamped; he then had his head cut off, and thenceforth the valley was called Cherif-Hadid. When this tale was over, the endless details of which I have omitted, each drank a cup of coffee, and having smoked a pipe, rolled himself up in his cloak and went to sleep.

The night passed over quietly, and the cold of the morning had warned us to rise, when we found beneath the carpet which formed our bed a large scorpion of a yellow colour, and three inches in length. When he was detected, he endeavoured to effect his escape, though not with a rapidity sufficient to ensure his safety: but our Arabs did not wish that he should be killed. I had already observed, on other occasions, a singular feeling of benevolence amongst these people; but I did not imagine that it extended to such obnoxious animals. It is remarkable, that a religion fraught with enthusiasm, founded by the force of arms, by conquest and the effusion of blood, and which maintains itself by its fanatical and warlike spirit, should have adopted and preserved principles of so much amenity. In a country where the life of man

weighs so lightly in the scale of power, one is astonished to meet with so much tenderness towards the inferior animals, even those which religion proscribes, or which are troublesome, and sometimes dangerous from their habits of attacking every thing that comes in their way. The Alaouins told us that scorpions and serpents abound in this part of the desert.

When the Israelites were defeated by the Amalekites and the Cananeans, and refused admission into the country of the Edomites, they descended into Wady Araba, the way from the Red Sea, in order to turn Idumea. Already wearied by the continued privations which they experienced during an expedition that appeared at first so inviting, from the fertility of the countries they passed through, on arriving in this valley their sufferings were still farther augmented by the multitude of serpents which assailed them on all sides. The fact thus recorded in the Scriptures is fully confirmed by the report of the Arabs, as well as by the vast numbers of those reptiles which we found two leagues to the east of this place, on our return to Akaba.

These reptiles are expressly mentioned in Deuteronomy: — "Who led thee through the great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents, and scorpions, and drought, where there was no water: who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint?"[a]

[a] viii. 15.

In the book of "Numbers" mention is made of Mount Akrabbim, that is to say, of the mount of scorpions, situated to the south of the Dead Sea: —"And your border shall turn from the south to the ascent of Akrabbim, and pass on to Zin." The same name occurs in Joshua[a] and in the book of Judges.[b] The mountain took its name from the quantity of serpents found in its neighbourhood. It is not necessary to go into any detail here as to the various researches of which the serpent has been the subject: it will be sufficient to state, that the "fiery serpents" are so called in a metaphorical sense, from the burning effect of their bites.

While pursuing our course through the bottom of the valley, in order to avoid the rocks collected at the mouths of the ravines which opened into it, we passed near a marshy place, where we observed a group of palm trees, an Arabian cemetry, and other tokens of former cultivation. As this spot afforded some resources to the traveller, it was probably a halting place on the road from Aila to Jerusalem, Gaza, and Rhinocolura. Its position corresponds to that of the Gerassa of Ptolemy, and also to that of Rasa, set down in the tables of Pentinger as at the distance of thirty-two miles from Aila.

"Having left behind us the valleys and the mountains, wrapped our heads in our cloaks, and passed the Kefieh over the mouth, we braved the heat, proceeding silently, and in regular order one after another. Aboudjazi led the way, I was the second

[a] xv. 3. [b] i. 36.

in the line; and after having taken some notes, I became sleepy, being almost overcome by the burning sun, when I was suddenly roused from my reverie by Djazi, who leaped down from his camel and cried out "A hare, a hare!" In less than a second our Arabs were all on their feet, running, leaping over rocks, and following the windings which the unhappy animal made to effect its escape. The less active by degrees dropped off, and gave up the chace, which was left eventually to the care of Hussein, and one of the Alaouins who journeyed on foot, a sort of savage, whose name was Djideid. They kept on, flinging at the hare stones which they picked up as they ran along. After a course of about a quarter of an hour Hussein struck the poor fugitive with a stone, and immediately seized him, much to the delight of the Tohrats, who rejoiced that one of their tribe had the advantage of the others. Order was soon restored, and the camels resumed their usual pace.

On entering Wady Garandel[a] we halted. This

[a] "The Wady Gharendel, two hours beyond Howara, where are wells among date trees, seems evidently to be the station named Elim, which was next to Marah, and at which the Israelites found 'twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm trees.' And it is remarkable that the Wady el Sheikh, and the upper part of the Wady Feiran, the only places in the peninsula where manna is gathered from below the tamarisk trees, accord exactly with that part of the desert of Sin, in which Moses first gave his followers the sweet substance gathered in the morning, which was to serve them for bread during their long wandering; for the route through Wady Taybe, Wady Feiran, and Wady el Sheikh, is the only open and easy passage to Mount Sinai from Wady Gharendel; and it requires the traveller to pass for some distance along the sea shore after leaving Gharendel, as we are informed that the Israelites actually did, on leaving Elim."—*Burckhardt*, Pref. p. xiii.

valley exhibited by its verdure a most welcome contrast to the desolate wastes around it. A stream which descends from the heights, and loses itself at the distance of a few paces, nourishes a bed of rushes, some shrubs, and two palm trees.[a]

[a] "At the end of three hours we reached Wady Gharendel, which extends to the N. E., and is almost a mile in breadth, and full of trees. The Arabs told me that it may be traced through the whole desert, and that it begins at no great distance from El Arysh, on the Mediterranean, but I had no means of ascertaining the truth of this statement. About half an hour from the place where we halted, in a southern direction, is a copious spring, with a small rivulet, which renders the valley the principal station on this route. The water is disagreeable; and if kept for a night in the water skins it turns bitter and spoils, as I have myself experienced, having passed this way three times.

"If we admit Bir Howara to be the Marah of Exodus (xv. 23.), then Wady Gharendel is probably Elim, with its wells and date trees; an opinion entertained by Niebuhr, who, however, did not see the bitter well of Howara on the road to Gharendel. The non-existence, at present, of twelve wells at Gharendel must not be considered as evidence against the just-stated conjecture; for Niebuhr says that his companions obtained water here by digging to a very small depth, and there was a great plenty of it when I passed; water, in fact, is readily found by digging, in every fertile valley in Arabia, and wells are thus easily formed, which are quickly filled up again by the sands.

"The Wady Gharendel contains date trees, tamarisks, acacias of different species, and the thorny shrub Gharkad, the *Peganum retusum* of Forskal, which is extremely common in this peninsula, and is also met with in the sands of the Delta on the coast of the Mediterranean. Its small red berry, of the size of a grain of the pomegranate, is very juicy and refreshing, much resembling a ripe gooseberry in taste, but not so sweet. The Arabs are very fond of it, and I was told that in years when the shrub produces large crops, they make a conserve of the berries. The Gharkad, which from the colour of its fruit is also called by the Arabs Homra, delights in a sandy soil, and reaches its maturity in the height of summer when the ground is parched up, exciting an agreeable surprise in the traveller at finding so juicy a berry produced in the driest soil and season. Might not the berry of this shrub have been used by Moses to sweeten the waters of Marah? The words in Exodus, xv. 25., are: 'And the Lord showed him a tree,

To the right of the valley, and on the southern side of its embouchure in Wady Araba, there are some ruins, the character of which it is difficult to determine. Every thing around them led me, however, to believe that they belonged to some fortress which defended on that side the entrance to Petra, and at the same time served as a protection to some establishment founded there for the convenience of commerce. We left this place in the afternoon, and for some hours travelled through a bleak wilderness.

Night fell upon this miserable-looking country, as if to veil its desolation, when we halted. The caravan, already for some time much fatigued, was expecting impatiently the signal of repose. Djazi stopped; and each man having caused his camel to lie down, and having relieved it from its burthen, chose on the sand the spot where he was to sleep. In a few minutes the animals formed a circle, in the middle of which we all lay down. A breeze which

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which when he cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet.' The Arabic translation of this passage gives a different, and, perhaps, more correct reading: 'And the Lord guided him to a tree, of which he threw something into the water, which then became sweet.' I do not remember to have seen any Gharkad in the neighbourhood of Howara, but Wady Gharendel is full of this shrub. As these conjectures did not occur to me when I was on the spot, I did not inquire of the Bedouins whether they ever sweetened the water with the juice of the berries, which would probably effect this change in the same manner as the juice of pomegranate grains expressed into it. The bottom of the valley of Gharendel swarms with ticks, which are extremely distressing both to men and beasts, and on this account the caravans usually encamp on the sides of the hills which border the valley."—*Burckhardt*, pp. 473, 474.

slightly agitated the surface of the desert, and the sound of the animals quietly ruminating around us, scarcely disturbed the magical stillness of the scene.

We set out the next morning for the mysterious valley of Petra, that destination towards which all my hopes had been directed for nearly two years. Notwithstanding the security which we enjoyed, and the perfectly good understanding that prevailed between us and our guides, a singular uncertainty still existed as to the success of our enterprise, and as to the possibility of our experiencing that freedom from interruption so necessary to the accomplishment of our object. Every thing seemed to depend on the good or evil dispositions of the Fellahs of Wady Mousa, whose habits of life, at once submissive and tyrannical, looked upon with contempt and yet with fear, appeared to us unintelligible. At nine o'clock the tomb of the prophet Aaron was pointed out to us on the summit of Mount Hor, as well as the rocks adjacent to it, which overlook Wady Mousa. They are more jagged, and higher than the others, and seem to be the crest of the whole mass. The traveller proceeding from the south should distinguish between two peaks; that which contains the tomb of the prophet is higher, but at the same time less striking than an isolated peak to the west of it, overhung by a tree which is apt to deceive the observer with the idea of its being an edifice.

From that moment we were no longer in Wady Araba. We had already entered on a small plain

much intersected by channels formed by torrents in the rainy season. Our guides requested that we should halt here until the heat of the day should pass over: we consented the more willingly, as we had remarked some architectural remains on the top of a rock called El Aasé; but on examination they offered no object of any interest, save the trace of a tomb formed very much on the plan of those which we afterwards saw at Petra. It was probably the tomb of some distinguished inhabitant of a town, the ruins of which still exist in Wady Pabouchebe.

We were at length about to take our departure for Petra, when an accident which occurred to M. Linant's camel, detained us until the next day. We took up our berths for the night beneath some rocks which projected so as to protect us from the dews. After dinner, and while Djazi was chatting with Omar, the three nephews of Akmed-Raschid came to while away the time with us. They attentively examined our instruments, our pencils, pens, and penknives, and, like so many children, were amused and astonished by the most insignificant objects. We took advantage of Djazi's absence to speak to them of the passage of Mr. Banks through these mountains, and of the resistance which he met from the Fellahs of Wady Mousa. The following are the details which they gave us on this subject, to which they would never allude in Djazi's presence.

"That Christian," said Akmed in a low voice, he accompanied so well by his animated coun-

tenance, "came one day from Karak to the tents of my uncle, and said that he wished to go to Wady Mousa to see the old buildings. Akmed-Raschid said in reply, that he would conduct him thither, and that he might remain there as long as he pleased. Old Aboudjazi, however, who at that time commanded nearly the half of our tribe, and was not upon good terms with us, learned at Gaza, where he happened to be, that Akmed was about to accompany an European to Wady Mousa. Having resolved on preventing Akmed from doing any such thing, he quitted Gaza, induced the Fellahs to join him, and persuaded them that the only object which the Frank had in view was to take away the treasures which he might find in the place, to dry up all the wells, and to prevent the rains from ever falling there again. They were thus prevailed upon to oppose his entrance into the valley; even our uncle was told that he should not put his foot within Wady Mousa. Seven days passed in discussions upon this subject, in demands on one side, and refusals on the other. At length the Christian said to Akmed-Raschid, 'They have guns, so have you; let us see who is the stronger, and let us go on.' Our uncle complied with his suggestion; he directed all our horsemen to mount their horses, and we forced an entrance into the valley in spite of the guns of the Fellahs and their hollow rocks. But as we were continually annoyed by the inhabitants as well as by Aboudjazi's people, we were under the necessity of quitting the valley the day after, and we

brought away the Christian with us, who regretted our premature departure very much."

I asked Akmed how long it was since they had been reconciled to Aboudjazi; he replied that they had been friends for some years, but that it was a political friendship, as at bottom they detested each other cordially. We hoped that this good apparent understanding would last as long, at least, as we should be associated with them, and we congratulated ourselves on our good fortune in being about to visit Petra and its magnificent ruins under the protection of the very person who had driven away our predecessors.

Our fire arms were put in order; our camels were loaded, and our caravan proceeded, being resolved to force our way against the resistance which we expected to meet, but at the same time to avoid a collision, if we could, of which our guides were as apprehensive as ourselves. The valley of Pabouchebe grew narrower as we proceeded, its bed being deliciously shaded with large laurels, amongst which the heads of our camels, which were decorated with woollen ornaments of various colours, occasionally appeared and disappeared. A spring, and some ruins resting on walls erected to support the original building, but which are undermined and impaired from year to year by the waters of the ravine, are observable on the right. The road becomes at every step more difficult, in consequence of its passing over the borders of the ravine, in which there are during the rainy season several magnificent waterfalls.

An encampment of three tents in front of us attracted our attention; the people to which they belonged fled the moment they saw us, but they soon returned on perceiving that we intended to do them no injury. They were under the impression that we were peasants from Gaza, which was at that period ravaged by the plague. Their apprehensions gave us confidence; we sat down amongst them, and purchased from them a kid. According to their report, there were no Fellahs in Wady Mousa; the whole tribe confined themselves to their tents, on account of the violence of the plague. Of five hundred of them seventy had already fallen victims to the pestilence. Ours was rather a singular situation, the malady being an additional danger on which we had not calculated, and yet that danger was to be in fact one of the guarantees for our encountering no interruption.

We wound round a peak, surmounted by a single tree. The view from that point exhibited a vast frightful desert—a chaotic sea, the waves of which were petrified. Following the beaten road, we saw before us Mount Hor[a], crowned by the tomb of

[a] "About the beginning of May, in the fourteenth month from the time of their departure from Egypt, the children of Israel quitted the vicinity of Mount Horeb, and under the guidance of Hohab, the Midianite, brother-in-law of Moses, marched to Kadesh, a place on the frontiers of Canaan, of Edom, and of the desert of Paran of Zin. Not long after their arrival, 'at the time of the first ripe grapes,' or about the beginning of August, spies were sent into every part of the cultivated country, as far north as Hamah. The report which they brought back was no less favourable to the fertility of the land, than it was discouraging by its description of the warlike spirit and preparation of the in-

the prophet, if we are to credit the ancient traditions preserved by the people of that country. Several

habitants, and of the strength of the fortified places; and the Israelites having in consequence refused to follow their leaders into Canaan, were punished by that long wandering in the deserts lying between Egypt, Judea, and Mount Sinai, of which the sacred historian has not left us any details, but the tradition of which is still preserved in the name of El Tyh, annexed to the whole country; both to the desert plains, and to the mountains lying between them and Mount Sinai.

"In the course of their residence in the neighbourhood of Kadesh, the Israelites obtained some advantages over the neighbouring Canaanites; but giving up at length all hope of penetrating by the frontier, which lies between Gaza and the Dead Sea, they turned to the eastward, with a view of making a circuit through the countries on the southern and eastern sides of the lake. Here, however, they found the difficulty still greater; Mount Seir of Edom, which under the modern names of Djebal, Shera, and Hesma, forms a ridge of mountains, extending from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea to the gulf of Akaba, rises abruptly from the valleys El Ghor and El Araba, and is traversed from west to east by a few narrow Wadys only, among which the Gheoyr alone furnishes an entrance that would not be extremely difficult to a hostile force. This perhaps was the 'high way,' by which Moses, aware of the difficulty of forcing a passage, and endeavouring to obtain his object by negotiation, requested the Edomites to let him pass, on the condition of his leaving the fields and vineyards untouched, and of purchasing provisions and water from the inhabitants. But Edom 'refused to give Israel passage through his border,' and 'came out against him with much people, and with a strong hand.' The situation of the Israelites, therefore, was very critical. Unable to force their way in either direction, and having enemies on three sides, (the Edomites in front, and the Canaanites and Amalekites on their left flank and rear,) no alternative remained for them but to follow the valley El Araba southwards, towards the head of the Red Sea. At Mount Hor, which rises abruptly from that valley, 'by the coast of the land of Edom,' Aaron died, and was buried in a conspicuous situation, which tradition has preserved as the site of his tomb to the present day. Israel then 'journeyed from Mount Hor, by the way of the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom,' 'through the way of the plain from Elath, and from Eziongeber,' until 'they turned and passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab,

large and ruinous excavations, which are seen in the way, may arrest the attention of a traveller who is interested by such objects, and has no notion of those still concealed from his view by the curtain of rocks which extends before him. But at length the road leads him to the heights above one more ravine, whence he discovers within his horizon the most singular spectacle, the most enchanting picture, which nature has wrought in her grandest mood of creation, which men influenced by the vainest dreams of ambition have yet bequeathed to the generations that were to follow them. At Palmyra nature renders the works of man insignificant by her own immensity and her boundless horizon, within which some hundreds of columns seem entirely lost; here, on the contrary, she appears delighted to set in her own noble frame-work his productions, which aspire, and not unsuccessfully, to harmonise with her own majestic yet fantastic appearance. The spectator hesitates for a moment as to which of the two he is the more

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and arrived at the brook Zered.' It may be supposed that they crossed the ridge to the southward of Eziongeber, about the place where Burckhardt remarked, from the opposite coast, that the mountains were lower than to the northward; and it was in this part of their wandering that they suffered from the serpents, of which our traveller observed the traces of great numbers on the opposite shore of the Ælanitic gulf. The Israelities then issued into the great elevated plains which are traversed by the Egyptian and Syrian pilgrims on the way to Mekka, after they have passed the two Akabas. Having entered these plains, Moses received the divine command, 'You have compassed this mountain long enough, turn you northward.' " — *Burckhardt, Preface*, pp. xiv. xv. xvi.

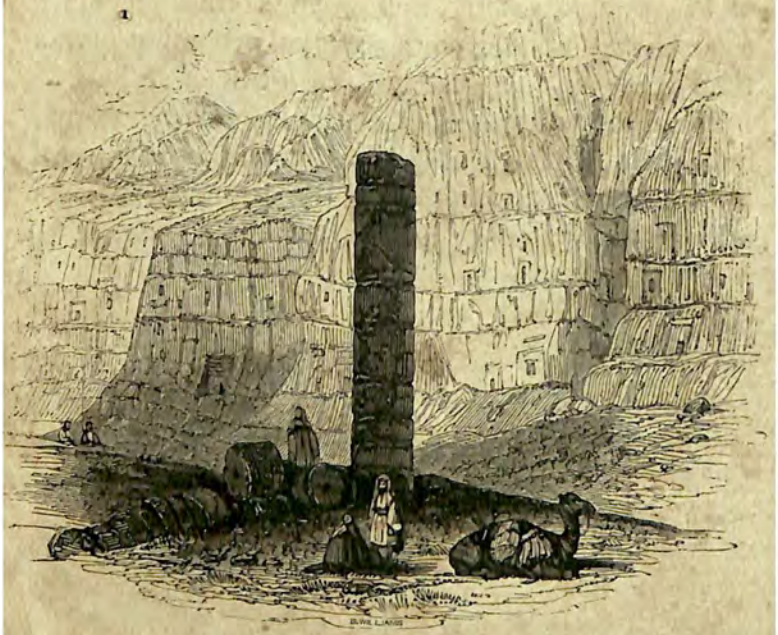
to admire—whether he is to accord the preference to nature, who invites his attention to her matchless girdle of rocks, wondrous as well for their colour as their forms, or to the men who feared not to intermingle the works of their genius with such splendid efforts of creative power.

This would be a proper place for the introduction of details concerning the history of Petra, the vicissitudes which that entrepôt of a former world has undergone, and of its fall from a state of the utmost splendour to one of complete desolation; but the subject is too interesting to be disposed of in a few hasty notices, and the developement which it would require would not be consistent with the limits of this work. I shall here merely remind the reader of the eventful prophecy of Jeremiah:—"Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, and the pride of thine heart, O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock; that holdest the height of the hill: though thou shouldest make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence, said the Lord."

The excavations in the rocks and the character of the sepulchral monuments of Petra are calculated to excite a good deal of attention. Examples of similar constructions are to be found, however, in other countries. India and Egypt exhibit many temples and tombs of great extent wrought in a graceful and magnificent manner. Asia Minor, Syria, Cyrene, Greece, and the whole of the ancient world, furnish various combinations of works of this description; we may even find them

amongst modern communities who have no idea of the fine arts. A hollow in a rock becomes their earliest abode: some external ornament marks their first step towards the attainment of style.

But the monuments of Petra are now before us, and, perhaps, the best commentary upon them will be a succinct description of the principal objects which will be found represented in the plates.

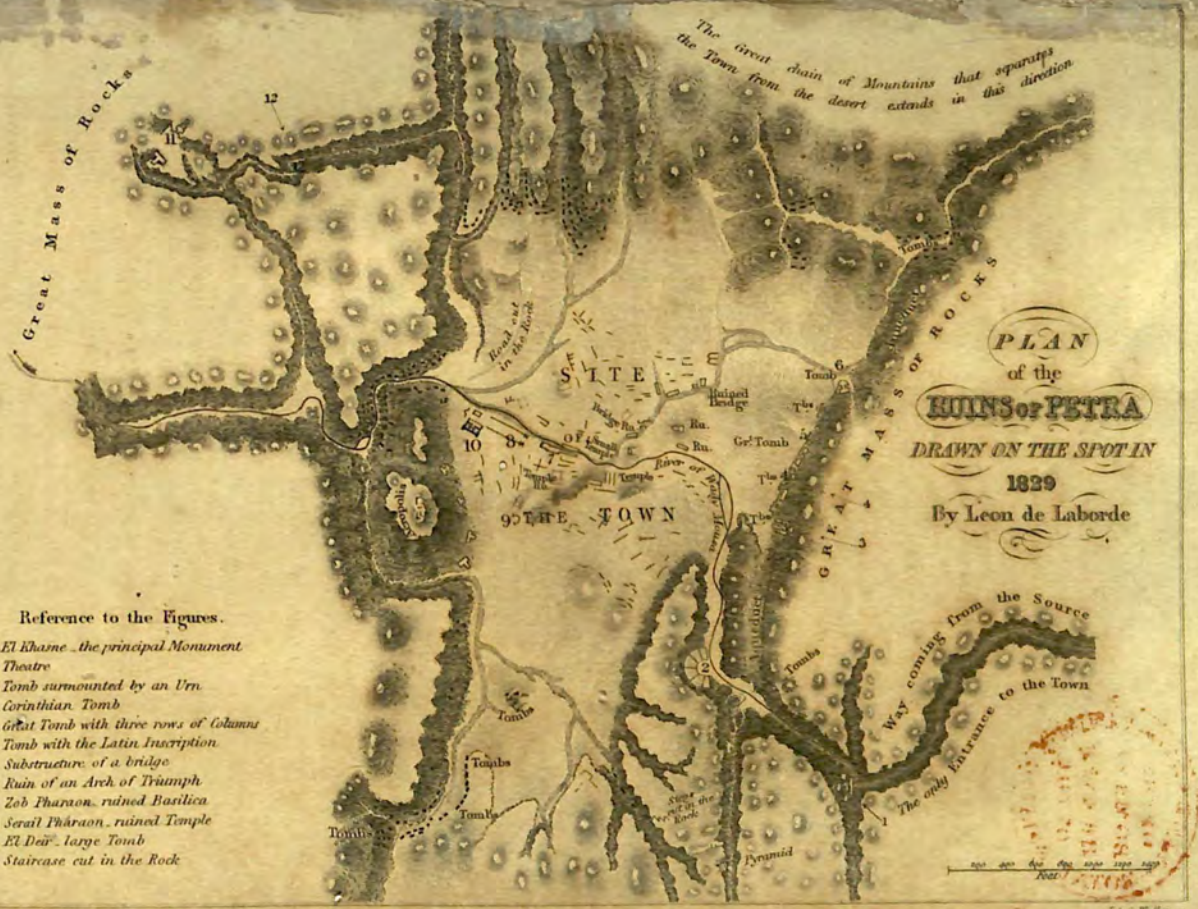


ISOLATED COLUMN.

CHAPTER X.

PLAN OF PETRA. — TOMB IN TWO STYLES. — ISOLATED COLUMN. — TOMB LEFT UNFINISHED. — RUINS OF A TEMPLE. — MONUMENTAL RESIDENCE. — RIVER OF PETRA. — TRIUMPHAL ARCH. — COLOSSAL TEMPLE. — A THEATRE. — DEFILE OF PETRA. — GREEK INSCRIPTION. — THE KHASNÉ. — TREASURY OF PHARAOH. — INTERIOR OF THE KHASNÉ. — VIEW OF THE ARCH FROM THE RAVINE.

THE reader should place before him the map of Petra, in order that he might the more clearly comprehend the mode in which we spent our time there. We arrived from the south, and descended


PLAN
of the
RUINS OF PETRA
DRAWN ON THE SPOT IN
1829
By Leon de Laborde
The Great chain of Mountains that separates the Town from the desert extends in this direction
Great Mass of Rocks
GREAT MASS OF ROCKS
SITE
THE TOWN
Road cut in the Rock
Ruined Bridge
Gr.t Tomb
Tomb
Tombs
Aqueduct
Pyramid
Way coming from the Source
The only Entrance to the Town
Reference to the Figures.
1 El Khasne _ the principal Monument
2 Theatre
3 Tomb surmounted by an Urn
4 Corinthian Tomb
5 Great Tomb with three rows of Columns
6 Tomb with the Latin Inscription
7 Substructure of a bridge
8 Ruin of an Arch of Triumph
9 Zob Pharaon _ ruined Basilica
10 Serail Pharaon _ ruined Temple
11 El Deir _ large Tomb
12 Staircase cut in the Rock
Feet
J. & C. Walker sc.

by the ravine which presents itself near the border or margin below. By advancing a little in that direction we commanded a view of the whole city covered with ruins, and of its superb enclosure of rocks, pierced with myriads of tombs, which form a series of wondrous ornaments all round.

Astonished by these countless excavations[a], I

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a "Some hundred yards below this spring begin the outskirts of the vast Necropolis of Petra. Many door-ways are visible, upon different levels cut in the side of the mountain, which towards this part begins to assume a more rugged aspect; the most remarkable tombs stand near the road, which follows the course of the brook. The first of these is on the right hand, and is cut in a mass of whitish rock, which is in some measure insulated and detached from the general range. The centre represents the front of a square tower, with pilasters at the corner, and with several successive bands of frieze and entablature above; two low wings project from it at right angles, and present each of them a recess, in the manner of a portico, which consists of two columns, whose capitals have an affinity with the Doric order, between corresponding antæ; there are, however, no triglyphs above. Three sides of a square area are thus enclosed; the fourth has been shut in by a low wall and two colossal lions on either side of the entrance, all much decayed. The interior has been a place of sepulture for several bodies. On the front are little niches and hollows cut, as if for the reception of votive offerings. Farther on, upon the left, is a wide façade of rather a low proportion, loaded with ornaments in the Roman manner, but in a bad taste, with an infinity of broken lines and unnecessary angles and projections, and multiplied pediments and half pediments, and pedestals set upon columns that support nothing. It has more the air of a fantastical scene in a theatre than an architectural work in stone; and for unmeaning richness, and littleness of conception, Mr. Banks seemed to think, might have been the work of Boromini himself, whose style it exactly resembles, and carries to the extreme. What is observed of this front is applicable, more or less, to every specimen of Roman design at Petra. The door-way has triglyphs over the entablature, and flowers in the metopes. The chamber within is not so large as the exterior promises; it has a broad, raised

dismounted from my dromedary, and sketched a tomb which seemed to me to combine in itself two characters, each of which may be found separately in those by which it is surrounded; the upper part being in the Syriaco-Egyptian style, the lower part decorated in the Græco-Roman fashion.

To the right of this monument, and at a short distance from it, are found two tombs entirely detached from the rock of which they originally formed a part. Behind that which terminates in a point there is a sculptured stone in the form of a fan, and which appears, though at some distance, to be an ornament belonging to the first, for I could discover no other to which it could appertain. These monuments are more particularly connected with the mode of excavation in use among the Indians.

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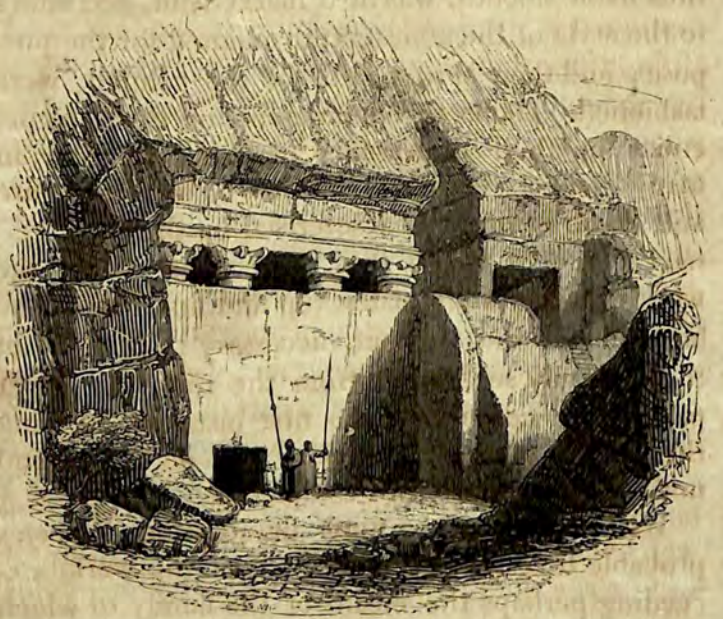
platform round three sides, on which bodies were probably disposed. Immediately over this front is another of almost equal extent, but so wholly distinct from it that even the centres do not correspond; the door-way has the same ornaments. The rest of the body of the design is no more than a plain front, without any other decoration than a single moulding. Upon this are set, in a recess, four tall and taper pyramids; their effect is singular and surprising, but combining too little with the rest of the elevation to be good. Our attention was the more attracted by this monument, as it presents, perhaps, the only existing example of pyramids so applied, though we read of them as placed in a similar manner on the summit of the tomb of the Maccabees, and of the Queen of Adiabæne, both in the neighbouring province of Palestine. The interior of the mausoleum is o moderate size, with two sepulchral recesses upon each side, and one in form of an arched alcove at the upper end; a flight of steps leads up to the narrow terrace upon which it opens." — *Irby and Mangles*, pp. 405, 406, 407.

Still proceeding along the bottom of the ravine towards the north, we observed on our left an uninterrupted line of elevated rocks, the numerous excavations in which, wrought in a variety of styles, continued at every step to excite our astonishment. On quitting the ravine which turns on the left into the mountain, we ascended by a gentle acclivity; when we arrived at the top, we discovered another series of magnificent monuments, but at the same time in a condition nearly resembling the mass of ruins which cover the ground beneath.

Before descending to the bottom of the valley, let us look back for a moment at the road which we have just traversed, beginning with the isolated column which appears to be a part of the ruins of an ancient temple, some of the columns and the outward wall of which are still distinguishable. The long wall of rock extending on the right, of which hardly any notion can be formed from the necessarily limited view of it in the engraving, excited our wonder more and more by the prodigious number of tombs that ornamented its divisions. It is impossible to describe the impression which this picture, in its natural state, produces on the mind, surrounded as it is on all sides by the stillness of death.

The Arabs, who show through their monotonous life little feeling for the vicissitudes of empires, have given this ruin a ridiculous, indeed an indecent name, which has no connection whatever with its original destination, and yet seems not ill applied to it in its state of decay: to prove the

utter fragility of our works, besides the injury capable of being wrought by time, only one thing more is wanting — the ridicule of mankind.



TOMB LEFT UNFINISHED AT PETRA.

We searched amongst this multitude of tombs, now open to every visiter, for one which might afford us a convenient place of residence. We had thus before us a complete picture of life: a journey — its halting place, the grave. While passing along these rocks, we perceived, at a short distance from the ruined temple, an excavation, the unfinished state of which attracted our attention. It afforded a clue to the plan which was pursued in the construction of the other monuments. The

rock was at first cut down in a perpendicular direction, leaving buttresses on each side, which preserved their original form. The front, which was thus made smooth, was next marked out, according to the style of the architecture adopted for the purpose; and then the capitals of the columns were fashioned. Thus the monuments of Petra, so peculiar in their appearance, and so different in many respects from other ruins of antiquity, are still more strongly characterised by the extraordinary mode in which they were constructed, the workmen beginning at the top and finishing at the bottom. It was, in fact, necessary to proceed in that way, by separating from the rock the upper part of the column in the first instance, allowing the weight of the material to rest on the ground until the monument was completed.

With respect to the tomb in question, it seems probable that the great expence of the work, exceeding perhaps the means of the family to which it belonged, caused them to give up the idea of completing it externally. A large door, however, was opened at the bottom, where an entire chamber was excavated; and the places for bodies which were formed in it show that in its actual condition, whether good or bad, it was made use of for the reception of the dead. It was truly a strange spectacle, — a city filled with tombs, some scarcely begun, some finished, looking as new and as fresh as if they had just come from the hands of the sculptor; while others seemed to be the abode of lizards, fallen into ruin and covered with brambles.

One would be inclined to think that the former population had no employment which was not connected with death, and that they had been all surprised by death during the performance of some funeral solemnities.

Descending by a declivity, where all sorts of debris were mingled together, we passed by the south-eastern angle of a temple, the remains of which, though not in good preservation, attract the more attention, inasmuch as it is the only building among all the edifices of the place which continues standing. The point of view from which M. Linant has sketched it appeared to me interesting, because it presents a frieze and cornice in very good taste, which may give an idea of the style. The other details, with which the interior of this building was overloaded, were in stucco plastered on the wall. These have been destroyed by time. Some traces of the ornaments are discernible, but they are too imperfect to furnish the subject of a drawing.

I sketched the same temple, placing myself in front of it, so that I might represent the details of the cornice, and the disposition of the peristyle. A paved way, which is well preserved in many places, though in others it has yielded to the plough, extends to some distance to the east of this temple, along the border of the brook of Wady Mousa. The Arabs have called this ruin the Palace of Pharaoh; indeed they have named the whole of the ruins of this ancient city from the generic appellations of the great kings.

RUINED TEMPLE (SERAIL PHARAON).

(No. 10 in the Plan.)—PETRA.

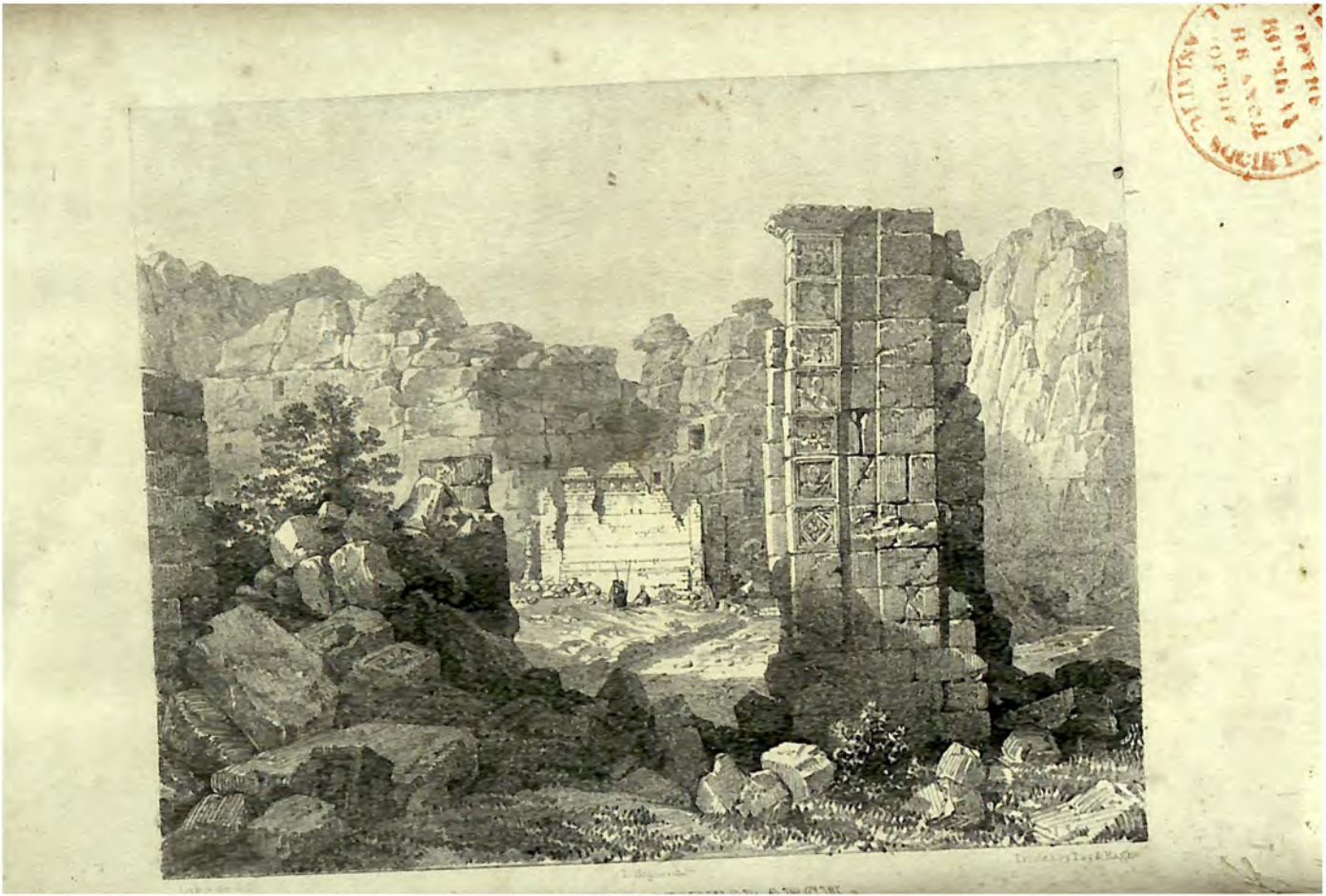
A large tomb to the west of this temple, not at all rich in decoration, but deeply excavated, accommodated the whole of us, and also afforded room for our baggage, which we arranged in hollows that were made in the side-walls of this sepulchral chamber. We established our kitchen in the middle. Our camels, squatted near the entrance, waited impatiently until they were turned loose to feast, after a fatiguing journey, on the rich vegetation of the valley, and especially on its abundant stream of clear water.

We held a council as to the course which it would be the best to pursue. We were anxious to set out immediately, while our visit to the valley was still unknown, in order to explore the antiquities situated nearest to the habitations of the Fellahs; if they exhibited any intention to expel us from their domains, we should then confine ourselves to the objects within the precincts of the city. By reason of its extent it would enable us to negotiate more easily than a narrow ravine, with the intricacies of which they were so well acquainted. Djazi approved of our plan, and recommended us to set out with Akmed and the two other Alaouins, while he would remain to receive the inhabitants, who, he had no doubt, would soon make their appearance. Proceeding towards the west, we followed the brook of Wady Mousa. At that season, the little river flowed tranquilly through its bed of sand and rocks; but we observed traces of its impetuosity during the rainy season in the stones heaped on its banks, as well as

in the remains of the strong walls which were formerly erected in order to prevent it from inundating the valley. In fact, that part of the valley was the only one that presented a level space; and this the inhabitants sought to extend as much as possible, in order to construct upon it a continuation of their forum, or rather a grand avenue, bordered on each side by sumptuous monuments. Hence the river passes under a vaulted covering, and the square extends over both banks, the pavement being formed of large slabs. The collection of temples and tombs which were to be seen from that place all round the horizon, must have presented a most magnificent spectacle when Petra was in its glory.

RUINS OF A TRIUMPHAL ARCH.

At the commencement of the level part of the valley we found the ruins of a triumphal arch: I took a sketch of the way by which we came from



the Palace of Pharaoh, placing in the foreground the most elevated pilaster of the former erection. We saw through the arch the ancient paved way, and on the right the river of Wady Mousa, which loses itself among the rocks. The ornaments of the pilasters still remaining resemble in some degree those of the triumphal arch which terminates the colonnade of Palmyra on the eastern side. The debris and fragments of bas-reliefs strewed around appear to be sufficient to permit a restoration of this monument, which might be easily accomplished. The arch, however, so restored, would not be a very pleasing object to contemplate, as it would have to be reconstructed in an obsolete style overcharged with ornament.

Viewed from this side, the arch presents itself under a more favourable aspect, at the same time that its position becomes more striking. Its extravagant details are no longer seen, and the ground of the picture is well filled up by the grand line of rocks pierced for enormous tombs. The walls constructed on each side of the river are conspicuous to the east, and its waters are perceived entering the scene amidst trees and rocks. We continued our course through the ruins of these monuments, which time and man, who is also an active destroyer of his own works, had scattered in confusion. Amongst them we easily distinguished a colossal temple, whose entire destruction appeared to be spontaneous, for its ruins were placed in an order analogous to the positions which they had occupied in the building. Here are columns

whose different component parts from the base to the capital follow each other on the ground, and near the latter are the entablatures as well as the cornices which it had sustained. Here also are seen the foundations uncovered, which seem waiting for the first layer of stones. It looks like a vast pile asleep ready to get up.

The brook of Wady Mousa, turning to the right, that is to say to the south, enters a ravine, which gradually narrows as we advance through it. Excavations, not indeed of the most elegant description, but numerous beyond calculation, here present themselves on all sides. The excavation, however, that most excited our attention was a vast theatre [a] in the bosom of the mountain, surmounted and in some degree sheltered by the rocks. To scoop out a theatre in the side of a mountain seems to be an enterprise of infinite

[a] "The position of the theatre has been mentioned; it is the first object which presents itself to the traveller on entering Petra from the eastward. It is entirely hewn out of the live rock; the diameter of the podium is one hundred and twenty feet, the number of seats thirty-three, and of the cunii three. There was no break, and consequently no vomitories. The scene, unfortunately, was built, and not excavated; the whole is fallen, and the bases of four columns only remain on its interior face. The theatre is surrounded by sepulchres; every avenue leading to it is full of them, and one may safely say that a hundred of the largest dimensions are visible from it. Indeed, throughout almost every quarter of this metropolis, the depositories of the dead must have presented themselves constantly to the eyes of the inhabitants, and have almost outnumbered the habitations of the living; there is a long line of them not far from the theatre, at such an angle as not to be comprehended in the view from it, but which must have formed a principal object for the city itself." — *Irby and Mangles*, p. 428.

Laborde delt.

L. Haghe lith.

Day & Haghe Lithrs to the King.

VIEW OF PETRA, FROM THE TOP OF MOUNT HOREB.

labour; but to form it thus from a rocky substance is an enterprise still more astonishing. The benches, though worn by use and by the waters which run over them from the heights, are pretty well preserved, and permit an accurate plan to be taken of the interior. The situation of the stage may be easily ascertained; and we saw also several bases of columns, the original position of which it was not difficult to conjecture. But what surprised us most was the selection of such a spot for a place of amusement, considering the prospect it afforded on all sides of death and its mansions, which touch the very sides of the theatre. What a strange habit of mind the people of Petra must have possessed, thus to familiarise themselves so constantly to the idea of death, as Mithridates accustomed himself to poison in order to render himself insensible to its effects!

M. Linant took the same view from a greater distance by ascending the ravine. I have endeavoured to preserve in this design the character of the original, although it differs from the preceding view in some points. Funereal monuments are seen on all sides decorating the rocks from the base to the summit. On the left hand steps are cut in a ravine which lead to a fortress and to other tombs. As an excursion to them would take us to a distance from the Fellahs, we felt no difficulty in postponing it to another day.

Behind the mass of rocks which are seen to the right, there is a tomb that may be considered as

TOMB IN FRONT OF THE THEATRE.

a model of the style which chiefly prevails among the monuments of Petra. I shall not here undertake to settle the points of resemblance which might determine their general architectural style: it will be sufficient to exhibit this tomb as a type of those monuments, and they are by far the most numerous, which do not owe their origin to the domination or the taste of the Romans.

The only entrance to Petra is through a narrow ravine cut through the rocks, and bordered on each side by superb tombs.

This ravine, so curious in its conformation, was

RAVINE LEADING TO PETRA, AND THE TOMB WITH THE GREEK INSCRIPTION.

produced, doubtless, in the first instance, by some interior movement, but completed and rendered regular by the influence of torrents, which have formed similar channels in all parts of Arabia Petræa. The natural conformation of the valley and of this opening to it sufficiently explains the cause of its having been selected as a suitable place for a city. In the remote ages, when men were engaged in perpetual wars, and plunder was the order of the day, it was no small advantage to a community to find a position which presented a considerable surface enriched by an abundant stream, and hemmed in by a girdle of rocks, to which there was no ingress, except through a ravine so narrow that a few men, stationed on the top of the mountain, might prevent any enemy, however numerous, from effecting an entrance into the town. When the Nabatheans grew to be a powerful people, the importance of this position became more obvious, as they had to guard themselves not only against the jealousy of the neighbouring tribes, but also against the desire of conquest, which animated more distant nations.

We perceived two tombs on the left, which are distinguishable from the others by a peculiar style, as well as by a Greek inscription, engraved in large characters on the architrave. An interpretation of this inscription would be the more valuable, inasmuch as all those which were originally traced on the funereal monuments of Petra are effaced by time; but I have hitherto failed in my endeavours to decipher these characters, and seve-

ral enlightened Hellenists, who were anxious to assist me, have not been more fortunate.

Pursuing our way to the south, after quitting the city, we followed the windings of the ravine, and came within view of what may be called one of the wonders of antiquity.[a] Critics are doubt-

[a] "After proceeding for twenty-five minutes between the rocks, we came to a place where the passage opens, and where the bed of another stream coming from the south joins the Syk. On the side of the perpendicular rock, directly opposite to the issue of the main valley, an excavated mausoleum came in view, the situation and beauty of which are calculated to make an extraordinary impression upon the traveller, after having traversed for nearly half an hour such a gloomy and almost subterraneous passage as I have described. It is one of the most elegant remains of antiquity existing in Syria; its state of preservation resembles that of a building recently finished, and on a closer examination I found it to be a work of immense labour.

"The principal part is a chamber sixteen paces square, and about twenty-five feet high. There is not the smallest ornament on the walls, which are quite smooth, as well as the roof; but the outside of the entrance door is richly embellished with architectural decorations. Several broad steps lead up to the entrance; and in front of all is a colonnade of four columns, standing between two pilasters. On each of the three sides of the great chamber is an apartment for the reception of the dead. A similar excavation, but larger, opens into each end of the vestibule, the length of which latter is not equal to that of the colonnade as it appears in front, but terminates at either end between the pilaster and the neighbouring column. The doors of the two apartments opening into the vestibule are covered with carvings richer and more beautiful than those on the door of the principal chamber. The colonnade is about thirty-five feet high, and the columns are about three feet in diameter, with Corinthian capitals. The pilasters at the two extremities of the colonnade, and the two columns nearest to them, are formed out of the solid rock, like all the rest of the monument; but the two centre columns, one of which has fallen, were constructed separately, and were composed of three pieces each. The colonnade is crowned with a pediment, above which are other ornaments, which, if I distinguished them correctly, consisted of an insulated cylinder crowned with a vase, standing between two other structures in the shape of small temples, supported by short pillars. The entire front, from the

less sometimes inclined to accuse a traveller of exaggeration or folly who attempts, by elaborate descriptions, to enhance the merit of his exertions or the value of his discoveries. But in this case the views drawn with great care on the spot will show the representation to be perfectly conformable to truth, which, if it had been described in writing with the greatest precision, would seem to be an exaggeration. My friend drew this astonishing work—the Khasné, or, as the natives call it, the "Treasury of Pharaoh,"—from the point whence it is first seen on turning from the road. In this way it presents rather a side view, permitting the bottom of the ravine to be included in the picture, and a flight of steps which lead to some unimportant ruins. The other view, taken in front and from the entrance of the ravine, represents it as it was intended by the

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base of the columns to the top of the ornaments, may be sixty or sixty-five feet. The architrave of the colonnade is adorned with vases, connected together with festoons. The exterior wall of the chamber at each end of the vestibule, which presents itself to the front between the pilaster and the neighbouring column, was ornamented with colossal figures in bas relief; but I could not make out what they represented. One of them appears to have been a female mounted upon an animal, which, from the tail and hind leg, appears to have been a camel. All the other ornaments sculptured on the monument are in perfect preservation.

"The natives call this monument Kaszr Faraoun, or Pharaoh's Castle; and pretend that it was the residence of a prince. But it was rather the sepulchre of a prince, and great must have been the opulence of a city which could dedicate such monuments to the memory of its rulers."—*Burckhardt*, pp. 424, 425.

founder to appear to strangers on their first approach to Petra.

What a people must they not have been who thus opened the mountain to stamp upon it the seal of their energy and genius! What a climate too, which gilds with its light the graceful forms of a great variety of sculptures without suffering its winters to crumble their sharp edges, or to reduce in the least their high reliefs! Silence reigns all round, save when the solitary owl now and then utters his plaintive cry. The Arab passes through the scene with perfect indifference, scarcely deigning to look at works executed with so much ability, or to meditate, except with contempt, upon the uselessness of so much labour expended on an object which he in vain seeks to comprehend.

In order to give a just idea of the Khasné, it would be necessary to illustrate the views taken of it in its actual state by an engraving, representing it in the form which the architect had originally conceived. This restoration, though by no means attended with difficulty, inasmuch as the monument itself is well preserved, would, however, require the most minute care in order to adhere to its genuine style, without deviating into modes of arrangement which too often spoil restoration altogether.

The plan of this monument shows the point of view whence I sketched it, and will afford some idea of the superb effect of the interior. The plates taken together will enable the reader to

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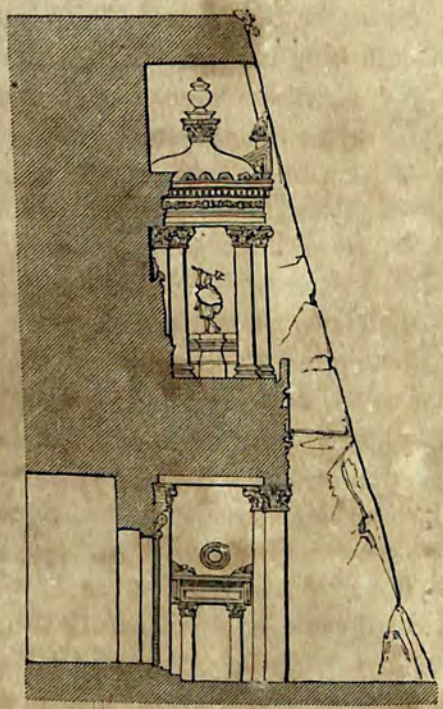
FRONT VIEW OF THE KHASNE, A TEMPLE CUT IN THE ROCK.

[No 1 in the Plan.]—PETRA.



SECTION OF THE KHASNÉ.

form some notion of this magnificent edifice, or rather of this immense bas-relief, carved out of the mountain. It is impossible, however, by any sketches to convey to the mind of a person who has not visted Petra, a just impression of the magical effect produced on the eye by the harmonious tints of the stone of which the Khasné is composed, standing out as it does in a limpid rosy hue detached from the rough and sombre colour of the mountain. Who can represent those grand out-

lines here and there abruptly broken by the jagged forms of the rocks, or renew those traces of ancient splendour that characterise this fine picture, placed in the great avenue to the city, in order that it might be seen by the whole community, in contrast with the solitude of the ravine, which seems well calculated to heighten its grandeur?

The Arabs, as I have said, call this tomb the Treasury of Pharaoh. It was in consonance with the usual turn of their minds, after having examined in vain all the coffins of the funereal monuments, to search for the place where Pharaoh, the founder of such costly edifices, had buried his wealth. They found the depository, as they conceived, at last, in the urn which is seen surmounting the Khasné. Here, thought they, all the riches of that great sovereign must be preserved. Unhappily, being out of their reach, it has served only the more to kindle their desires. Hence, whenever they pass through the ravine they stop for a moment, charge their guns, aim at the urn, and endeavour, by firing at it, to break off some fragments with a view to demolish it altogether, and get at the treasure which it is supposed to contain. The urn, however, resists all their attacks; and when they have discharged their pieces in vain, they go away murmuring against the giant king, who had the cunning to place his treasure at a distance of a hundred and twenty feet above their heads.

This monument is sculptured out of an enormous and compact block of freestone, slightly tinged

Sketched by M. Léon de Laborde. Day & Haghe lith.

INTERIOR VIEW OF THE KHASNE.

a Temple excavated in the Rock.

PETRA.

with oxyde of iron. Its preservation is due to the protection which the adjacent rocks and upper vault afford it against the winds and rains. The statues and the bases of the columns alone exhibit signs of deterioration, caused by humidity, which corrodes the parts that are most in relief or are nearest to the earth. It is to this influence we are to attribute the fall of one of the columns, which was attached to the pediment; it would have drawn down with it the whole monument if it had been built, and not hollowed out from the rock. Hence only a void has been occasioned, which does not impair the general effect. The prostrate fragments were rather useful to us in their fallen state, inasmuch as they enabled us by the dimensions of the shaft and capital to ascertain the probable height of the column, which we could not otherwise have fixed with any precision.

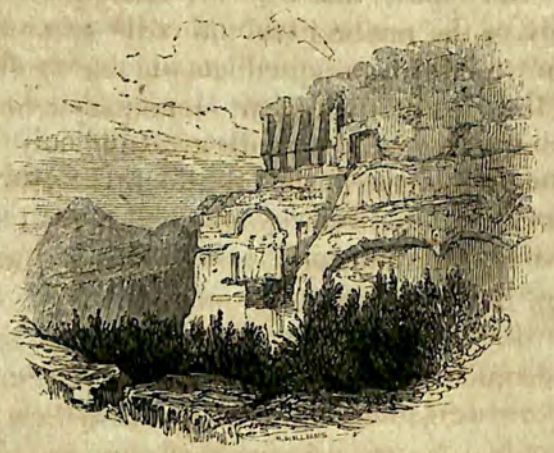
On beholding so splendid a front, we expected that the interior would correspond with it in every respect; but we were disappointed. Some steps lead to a chamber, the door of which is seen under the peristyle: although regularly chiselled and in good proportion, the walls are rough; the doors have no frame-work; the whole, in fact, seems to have been abandoned as soon as it was executed. There are two lateral chambers; one of which, to the left, is irregularly formed; the other presents two hollows, which appear to have been intended for two coffins, perhaps those of the founders of the monument, which were placed provisionally in

this little rock, until the more magnificent receptacle which they had in their vanity intended for themselves should be completed.

The brook, which flowed with a gentle murmur at the foot of this wonderful effort of human labour, reminded us that we had still to explore the ruins which surround its source and border its current on both sides. Our guides went before us, occasionally calling our attention to the large slabs, indicating here and there the ancient pavement, which conferred upon the ravine, though at present so savage in its appearance, and incumbered by ruins, the character of a fine avenue created by nature, and improved to magnificence by the skill and industry of man. After making many turns through this almost subterraneous street, the rocks at the top nearly touching each other, and after having already felt a degree of admiration which seemed incapable of being exceeded, we were enchanted by the view of an object which I should in vain endeavour to describe. A grand triumphal arch, erected over the ravine after the fashion of the ancients, who usually constructed similar arches at the entrance to their cities, boldly spans the two lofty walls of rock on each side. The savage wildness of the situation has no parallel. The impression which it produces at the moment of entering this almost covered way is inexpressible.[a]

[a] A view of this arch on the ravine is given in the Landscape Illustrations to the Bible.

The novel arrangement of this arch induced me at first to suppose that it served as a bridge from one side of the ravine to the other, or as a conduit for the waters to an aqueduct which was formed along the face of the rocks. I ascended to it by a steep and rugged path with great difficulty; but I found nothing to justify the idea that the arch had been intended for any other purpose than as an ornament to the capital.



PYRAMIDAL TOMBS.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FELLAHS. — PETRA FROM THE RAVINE. — CORINTHIAN TOMB. — LATIN INSCRIPTION. — STAIRS IN THE MOUNTAIN. — EL DEIR. — VIEW FROM EL DEIR. — ACROPOLIS. — SPIRAL STAIRS. — INTERIOR OF A TOMB. — DEPARTURE FROM PETRA. — TOMB OF AARON.

WHILE I was engaged in drawing, our guides acted the part of sentinels; apprehensive every moment of discovering a band of those Fellahs whose fire arms and turbulence of disposition were the continual theme of conversation. To these apprehensions was added the fear of the plague; and as we were now approaching their habitations, it was no slight token of fidelity on the part of our guides to accompany us in this advanced recon-

naissance. We found in the course of our expedition a funereal monument surmounted by some small pyramids or obelisks, the only example of the kind we had observed among the ruins of Wady Mousa. We still went on amidst excavated rocks; but the ravine gradually opened, the wall on each side became lower, and the brook irrigated a verdant pasturage intermingled with herbs, flowers, fig-trees, and laurels. It would have been interesting to trace to their fountain head those waters which issued forth to lave the feet of so many splendid monuments: at such sources the ancients were accustomed to erect altars dedicated to the nymphs. But to have gone any farther in that direction might have endangered our stay in the valley, and have attracted us to unprofitable researches from the great monuments which we had as yet barely glanced at. We returned therefore by the way we went, the ravine every where offering us inexhaustible subjects for admiration: we examined the ancient pavement, some small niches for urns, and an aqueduct wrought with great skill in the steep sides of the rock. The waters followed a regular descent, more gentle than that of the ravine itself; and at an elevation of about thirty feet they passed through pipes of baked earth, partly broken away, but which might be repaired at a trivial expense if fresh inhabitants were to establish themselves in the valley.

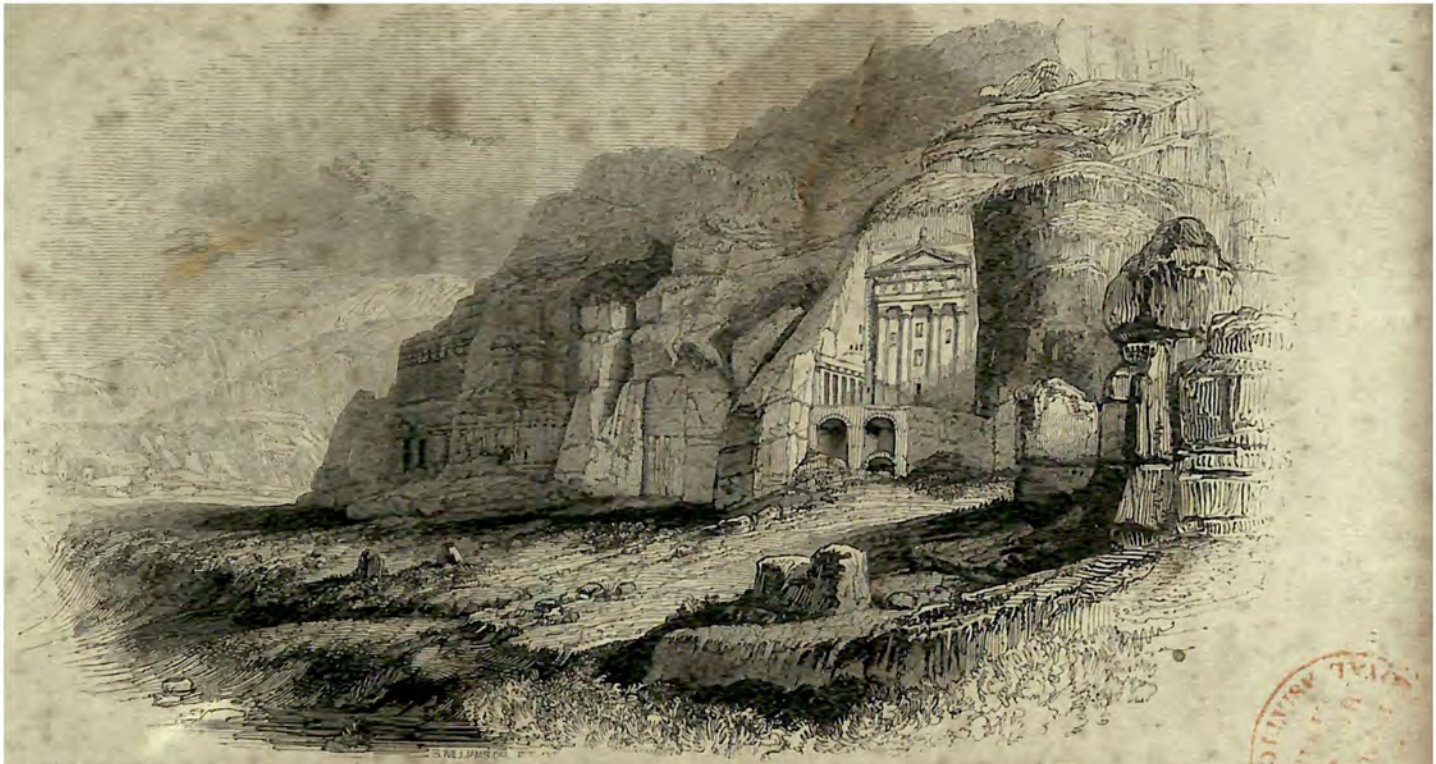
While thus returning, we could easily imagine the impression which the Khasné seen for the first time would produce on those who arrive in the

valley by its proper entrance[a], and not as we did by steep ravines and clandestine ways; then comes the view of the theatre, succeeded by a general prospect of the whole line of monuments majestically supported by the mountains.

The monument which is first seen on the right does not present itself advantageously except from this point of view: I could not therefore have given it more in detail. What should be remarked especially in this tomb is the indefatigable labour which must have been expended on cutting away the declivity of so enormous a rock until a sufficiently extensive surface could have been obtained for the execution of the plan on which the architect intended to proceed. In order to preserve in front of this monument a platform which might resist the effect of running waters, a wall was erected, and the terrace was extended by means of several ranges of arches. These two monuments, which are seen one after the other, and especially the first, appear to me to partake partly of the Egyptian style. A little farther on we observed in the mountain a monument of the Corinthian order, and beyond that a tomb with three tiers of columns, offering a singular series of ornaments, which constantly increase in height, dimensions, and boldness of style.

This monument appears to be a bad imitation of the funereal edifice which the Arabs have called the Khasné. The dome in the middle and the pedi-

[a] See a view taken from Mr. Banks's sketch — Landscape Illustrations of the Bible, vol. i.

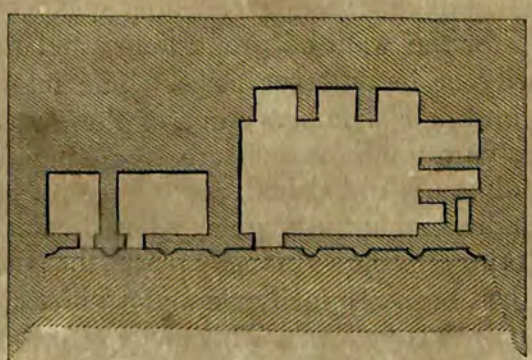


TOMB SURMOUNTED BY AN URN.

(No. 31 in the Plan.)—PETRA.

CORINTHIAN TOMB, PETRA.

ment both exhibit a somewhat fantastic, though not disagreeable character. Being exposed to the inclemency of the weather, the rock must have been a good deal injured by it; in fact, the waters have found their way through this tomb, and brambles have grown about it almost as high as its upper range of columns. Parasitical plants, lichens, and briars are at work to conceal from the eye these remains of human industry, forming, as it were, a winding sheet which nature spreads over our frail creations. At Petra man seems to have distrusted her rivalry, and therefore he formed his monuments out of single blocks attached to a mountain. Nevertheless the bramble sometimes oversteps the summit of his edifice, extends itself over the cornices, and covers the base of the columns, while the corrosion of the waters tends to hasten the progress of decay.

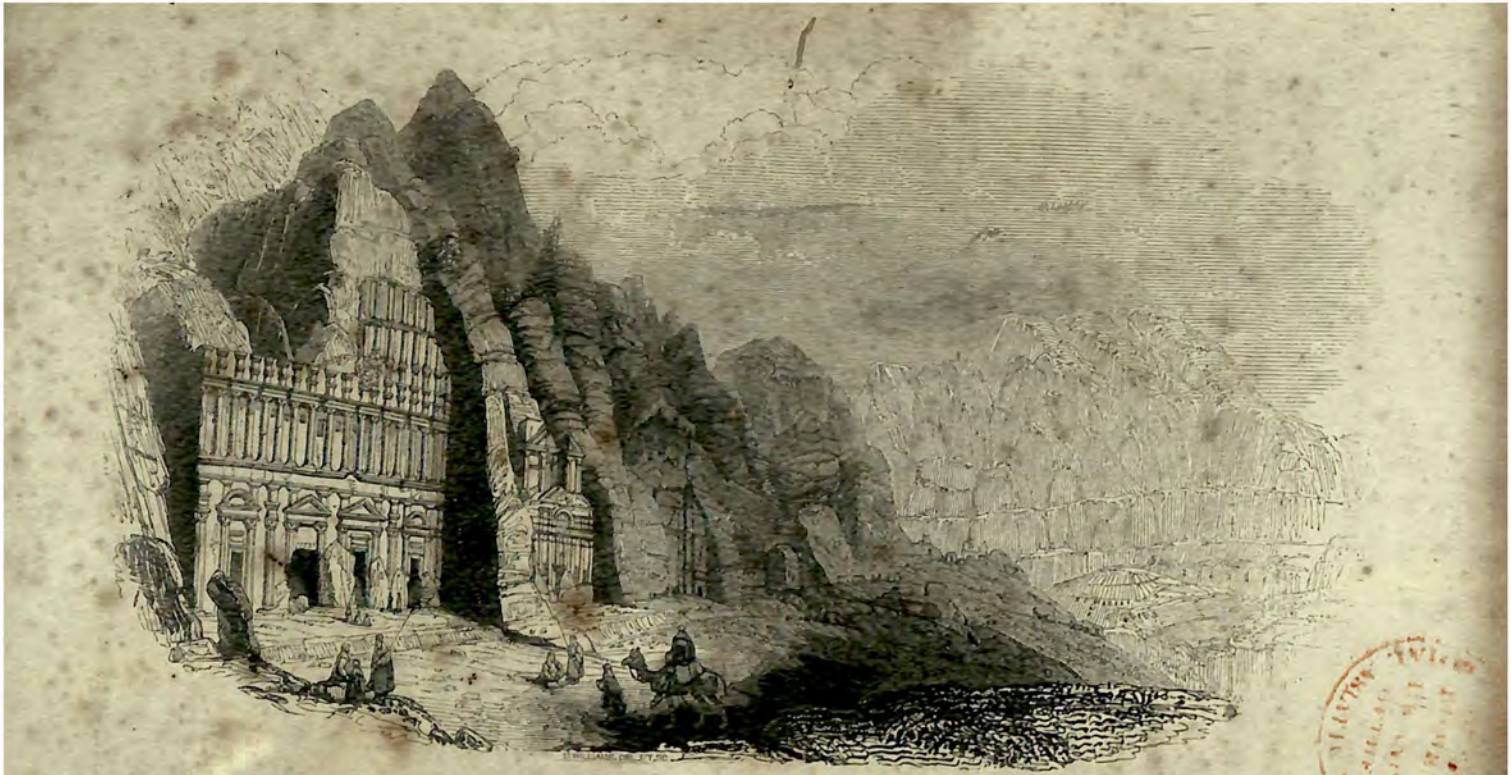


GROUND PLAN OF THE CORINTHIAN TOMB.

The interior of the tomb in question shares in

the irregularity of its façade; the funereal chambers are rough, and without any traces of ornament. It has three tiers of columns. A little farther on a mass of rocks is excavated for receptacles of the dead. The same plate contains a view of a large monument of three rows of columns, which is seen behind the Corinthian tomb, and which it would have been interesting to have represented more in detail. The excavation of such a monument is a singular spectacle: one cannot, however, but regret that so much labour should have been bestowed on a style of architecture so defective.

And nevertheless, one should not judge of this monument by its present condition: it must have been formerly more elevated, for traces of erections which indicate its continuation to a greater height are still visible. One grand line connects these three tiers of columns, bestowing on them an aspect of combined grandeur, which compensates, perhaps, for the want of proportions, and for the irregularity of its different parts. The interior is divided into four chambers; one of these was prepared for four tombs, which are formed under an alcove: although unfinished, some traces of stucco seem to indicate that the chambers were ornamented. The exterior also shows in many places that the monument had been originally painted a white colour, though now it is yellow. This mode of embellishment is explained by the circumstance that the rock from which the monument is excavated, though in itself one unbroken mass, is far from possessing the same uniform colour. The oxyde



GREAT TOMB, WITH THREE ROWS OF COLUMNS.

(No. 5 in the Plan.) – PETRA.

of iron, in filtrating through the freestone, forms large violet and bluish coloured veins, which run horizontally through the columns, interrupting their right line, and diverting the attention of the observer from their architectural arrangement.

Proceeding towards the north by the line of rocks, we descended by a gentle declivity to the foot of a ravine, which collects all the waters of this part of the valley, and conducts them to the brook of Wady Mousa. In this season of the year it was dry; but some rocks collected at its mouth, the sands and the plants brought from the higher part of the ravine, show that in the rainy season its current is sufficiently rapid.

The ancient inhabitants of Petra have availed themselves of a sort of rocky promontory, which stands between the plain and a small ravine, in order to form in it one of those tombs with which they have encircled their city. Its position is not its only merit, as the style in which it is constructed exhibits some graceful details.

M. Linant designed another view of this tomb, rather nearer than mine. He has accurately represented the arrangement of the monument sustained by the mountain, and presenting, as landing place, a terrace which is bordered by two flights of stairs, and which is reached by several steps. We found here a Latin inscription in three lines, carved on a tablet, the only inscription we discovered at Petra. It is of importance, as it gives the name of the officer, Quintus Prætextus Florentinus, who died in this capital

while he was governor of this part of Arabia. It appears to be of the time of Adrian, or of Antoninus Pius. The sepulchral chamber does not contain, like the others, any kind of ornament, having been apparently intended not for a single individual, but for a whole family.

TOMB WITH A LATIN INSCRIPTION.

Continuing our progress to the north, and ascending the small ravine above mentioned, we found several tombs, which call for no particular remark. On turning to the left we encountered a massive rock, entirely excavated and formed into tombs. Some exhibited external ornaments, the details of which I noted; but they are in general

less picturesque than those we observed in other parts of the valley. We returned by the Palace of Pharaoh, the site of the town, and the ruins of its buildings; and admired, as we passed, the arrangements which had been made in order to render the declivities useful, as well as to facilitate the ascent and descent of the ravines.

To finish our examination of the valley we had still to pursue our researches in the north-west, the west, and the south. Our guides conducted us at first to the north, by a ravine which at the opening was wide, and planted with magnificent laurels; it soon, however, became narrow, and was incumbered by rocks of enormous size. We should have found it impossible to go on, had it not been for the footways we discovered at every step, wrought by the indefatigable industry of the ancient inhabitants. Nothing appeared to them too laborious that was calculated to facilitate access to the splendid funereal monuments which they found near the summits of the mountains. Roads sufficiently wide were cut in the rocks, cascades were divested of their ruggedness, and a superb staircase extended over a space of more than fifteen hundred feet, in order to lead to the great tomb, which the Arabs call El Deir, or the Convent.

No traveller had yet approached this monument. Burckhardt appears to have known nothing of it. Mr. Banks and his friends were unable to visit it[a],

[a] "There is no part of the landscape which the eye wanders over with more curiosity and delight than the crags of Mount Hor itself, which stand up on every side in the most rugged

and were obliged to content themselves with having seen it at the distance of half a league through a telescope. We were, therefore, the first to explore this astonishing work of art.

Sculptured in relief on the rock, it exhibits a compact mass, a monolithe monument, in fact, of enormous dimensions, by way of ornament in front of the mountain. Its preservation is perfect; it would be difficult to say as much for its style. The vastness of its dimensions, however, compensate in some degree for its defects; and even the fantastic character which it presents is curious with reference to the history of the arts, when compared with the different edifices which were constructed about the time of their revival. It forms a link between their decline in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and their restoration in the

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and fantastic forms; sometimes strangely piled one on the other, and sometimes as strangely yawning in clefts of a frightful depth. In the midst of this chaos there rises into sight one finished work, distinguished by profuseness of ornament, and richness of detail. It is the same which has been described as visible from other elevated points, but which we were never able to arrive at; it bears north-east half north from this spot, but the number and intricacy of the valleys and ravines, which we supposed might have led us to it, baffled all our attempts. No guide was to be found. With the assistance of the glass we made out the façade to be larger to all appearance than that of the temple at the eastern approach, and nowise inferior to it in richness and beauty. It is hewn out of the rock, and seemed to be composed of two tiers of columns, of which the upper range is Ionic; the centre of the monument is crowned with a vase of a gigantic proportion; the whole appeared to be in a high state of preservation; it may perhaps be an ornament to the northern approach to the city, similarly situated to that on the eastern side from Mount Hor." — *Irby and Mangles*, pp. 438, 439.

Drawn from Nature by Léon de Laborde.

VIEW of a LARGE TOMB called EL DEIR.

Day & Haghe. Lith.rs to the King.

fifteenth. Upon examination, one would be inclined to conclude that the projectors of this work, inspired by a purer taste than belonged to their age, had recourse not indeed to the fountain head of the arts, nor even to the beauties of some of the monuments which they might have found at home, and which might have served them as models, but only to that stage at which the architects went astray from the true and only path that conducted to perfection. Hence they made but a half step towards it, taking the scale of the art, not from its highest but its lowest degree; thus returning towards purity of style through the same gradations by which it had descended at the period of its decline.

While I was copying this grand architectural production, M. Linant took its measurements; we then examined its environs. In front of it there is a lofty rock, to which an artificial ascent is formed; we found on the top, on a level platform, a line of columns, the bases of which are still in their places, and a subterraneous chamber, at the bottom of which there is a niche, sculptured with great care, though in an extremely defective style. From this platform we enjoyed a most extensive view; the eye commanding, on one side, the monument of El Deir and the valley of Mousa, and on the other, the chaos of rocks which are piled at the foot of Mount Hor.

The ravine, cut out into a staircase by the ancient inhabitants, was the only way by which we could return to the town: on all other sides, the rocks

are either precipitous, or rendered impassable by the waters which run over them. Some peasants approached us; but our fears of the plague prevented us from seeking any information from them, of which, moreover, we observed very little promise in the discontented expression of their countenances.

We returned, therefore, by the way we came, except that we deviated into a ravine, in which our guides told us we should find another monument. A number of loose rocks brought down by the torrents, rendered the access to this tomb difficult. We reached it, however; and, although neither its size nor its form served to distinguish it particularly from the myriads of excavations which surrounded the city, we copied it, because the herbage in its neighbourhood, and, especially, a large tree in the foreground, impart to it a character somewhat different from that of the tombs generally seen in the valley. We made another detour in returning, which enabled us to discover a road cut in the rock. We followed it for some time, but our guides assured us that it led only to different excavations, less remarkable than those which we had visited.

Our course to the west, as we descended by the brook of Wady Mousa, introduced us to no object worthy of attention. We made the tour of the isolated mass of rock upon which the acropolis, or, at least, the strongest fortress intended for the defence of the valley, was constructed. On the other side, the river regularly pursued the direction of

the ravine, amidst the most magnificent vines, laurels, and fig-trees.

We had still to explore to the south of the town, which had been as yet beyond the pale of our excursions. Ascending by the current we passed in front of the theatre.

We observed here the same indefatigable attention, every where so remarkable, to the means for securing approaches to the monuments, which from their situation would have been otherwise inaccessible. An uninterrupted staircase is formed in the rock, through the different windings I have indicated in the following drawing with the

TOMB WITH A FLIGHT OF STEPS.

most minute care. We arrived at the top of the mountain on one side of the bastions of a fort, which formerly served to defend the city in that direction. The fort is in ruins; it is built of stone; and is uninteresting, except in so far as it affords an explanation of a small pyramid which we per-

ceived in the valley. Following the example of workmen, who, when excavating the earth, leave portions of it standing at intervals, the persons engaged in building the fort, on quarrying the stone from the nearest matrix, have left a shapeless mass standing, as if to mark the height of the rock, from which they had taken their materials.

The summit of this mountain is very high, and the prospect from it commands the mass of rocks through which the principal ravine extends, the village of the Fellahs, and the source of the river. While wandering about here, we came to the brow of another ravine, where we discovered a staircase, not only outside the rock, but also in its interior, in a spiral form. On leaving this we entered another ravine, and reached a small funereal monument, the disposition of which was remarkably simple; there are steps to a little terrace, which leads to the peristyle; we then entered a sepulchral chamber, which was lighted by a window formed in the roof. A strong wall has been constructed on the right, as a protection against the winter torrents, as well as against the enlargement of the ravine on that side, which would otherwise have speedily undermined the monument. The patches of soil which have been collected behind it have been taken advantage of for the plantation of some trees, and the formation of a small garden, which still exists, although without any aid from cultivation. To the left of the monument, the waters have hollowed for themselves a narrow

and precipitous bed, through which they find their way to a second stage of this new avenue of monuments.

The ancient inhabitants had formed a staircase and a gutter, in order to render this passage more easy; we profited of it, and thus discovered a tomb, the proportions of which appeared defective; the columns are too large and too high to sustain so low a pediment. Some niches decorated with bas-reliefs representing warriors appeared worthy of notice. These niches have been filled with several layers of a kind of stone, different from that of the monument; and it is upon this inlaid wall that the three figures have been sculptured. Are we to conclude from this, that the monument passed from one family to another, and that it became necessary, in consequence, to alter the decorations; or that it was deemed desirable to secure for these sculptures a greater certainty of preservation, by selecting for them a species of stone of the most durable quality? The latter opinion is rendered the more probable, inasmuch as in several monuments the cornices were thus inlaid. There is nothing worth notice in the interior.

In front of this latter monument, and without anything to indicate it, except some irregular and broken openings, we found a tomb, the interior of which is calculated to excite attention, because it is unique in the valley, where, as I have already remarked, the monuments in general, however rich externally, present nothing in the interior except coarsely chiselled walls. It is unnecessary for me

INTERIOR OF A TOMB.

here to explain the merit of the architectural details of this excavation; the drawing gives a sufficiently exact idea of them to render every other description superfluous. Through the openings, which time had considerably enlarged, we perceived the monument with bas-reliefs formed in the rocks, which composed the other wall of the ravine. When the Fellahs descend into the valley, this tomb, which is easily closed, serves as a stable for their herds. Such are the uses to which these costly monuments of human vanity have been converted!

The ancient inhabitants had constructed a wall to support the soil on a level, and thus to preserve a large and handsome terrace before these two monuments. It was solidly built, for a part of it is still preserved; and when the rains inundate the natural channels of the ravines, the waters leap in cascades over this barrier raised by the hand of man. After passing it, we obtained a more extensive view; the rocks gradually retired, and the valley opened; on the right, however, we observed another monument, the style of which, however, is mediocre.

If my object were simply to exhibit the most eminent of the objects which attracted our attention during our expedition, I should have felt a pleasure in selecting from the innumerable monuments of Petra those only which by their style were calculated to gratify the admirers of the beautiful; but I thought it right, during a tour through Arabia Petræa, and especially through its capital, which formed the great object of our journey, to present a series of monuments in different styles, dating from different epochs.

I pass over the difficulties we experienced during our sojourn in the valley, which we protracted in spite of warnings from some of the Fellahs, and menaces from others, who, besides the sinister intentions they openly avowed, threatened us with the contagion. Our Arabs, terrified by the idea of the plague, and moreover not finding amongst these ruins any thing of that interest which they

had for us, seemed to be of opinion that they had amply fulfilled their engagements by having enabled us to make a stay of eight days in the valley. They then declared that it was time to go away; and we consented, on reflecting that we had accurately surveyed this great labyrinth of ruins, and that to make any further delay would only endanger our acquisitions, and injure, by abusing it, the authority which we still preserved over our guides.

The camels having accordingly been assembled around our funereal habitation, they were loaded; and the whole of this strange caravan of curious travellers, who had encamped for eight days in the mystic valley of tombs, departed furtively in the evening, apprehensive, as it were, of disturbing the silence which dwelt amongst them. The isolated column projected its shadow to a distance, and we had scarcely reached the top of the ravine when the sun was gilding, with his last rays, the higher rocks and their singular ornaments. By degrees the ruins were concealed in the increasing shade, then the more elevated monuments and their more prominent points, until the whole disappeared in the darkness of night, leaving behind them that painful impression of melancholy on our minds, which is always felt at the moment when a sublime spectacle vanishes from the view.

On ascending a small plain towards the south, we perceived the lofty mountain that commands all the neighbouring heights, on the summit of which tradition has preserved an ancient recollec-

tion.* The Scriptures have the following passage, speaking of the sojourn of the Israelites in the desert: —

* "No where is the extraordinary colouring of these mountains more striking than in the road to the Tomb of Aaron which we followed, where the rock sometimes presented a deep, sometimes a paler blue, and sometimes was occasionally streaked with red, or shaded off to lilac or purple; sometimes a salmon-colour was veined in waved lines and circles, with crimson and even scarlet, so as to resemble exactly the colour of raw meat; in other places there are livid stripes of yellow or bright orange, and in some parts all the different colours were ranged side by side in parallel strata; there are portions, also, with paler tints, and some quite white, but these last seem to be soft, and not good for preserving the sculpture. It is this wonderful variety of colours observable throughout the whole range of mountains, that gives to Petra one of its most characteristic beauties; the façades of the tombs, tastefully as they are sculptured, owe much of their imposing appearance to this infinite diversity of hues in the stone.

"We engaged an Arab shepherd as our guide, and leaving Abou Raschid with our servants and horses, where the steepness of the ascent commences, we began to mount the track, which is extremely steep and toilsome, and affords but an indifferent footing. In most parts the pilgrim must pick his way as he can, and frequently on his hands and knees. Where by nature it would have been impassable, there are flights of rude steps, or inclined planes, constructed of stones laid together, and here and there are niches to receive the foot-steps cut in the live rock; the impression of pilgrims' feet are scratched in the rock in many places, but without inscriptions. Much juniper grows on the mountain almost to the very summit, and many flowering plants which we had not observed elsewhere; some of these are very beautiful; most of them are thorny. On the top there is an overhanging shelf in the rock, which forms a sort of cavern; here we found a skin of extremely bad water, suspended for drinking, and a pallet of straw, with the pitcher, and the other poor utensils of the sheikh who resides here. He is a decrepit old man, who has lived here during the space of forty years, and occasionally endured the fatigue of descending and reascending the mountain. The tomb itself is enclosed in a small building, differing not at all in external form and appearance from those of Mahommedan saints, common throughout every province of Turkey. It has probably been rebuilt at no remote period; some small columns are bedded in the walls, and some fragments of granite and slabs of white marble are ly-

"And the children of Israel, even the whole congregation, journeyed from Kadesh, and came unto Mount Hor.

"And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in Mount Hor, by the coast of the land of Edom, saying,

"Aaron shall be gathered unto his people: for he shall not enter into the land which I have given unto the children of Israel, because ye rebelled against my word at the water of Meribah.

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ing about. The door is near the south-west angle, within which a constructed tomb, with a pall thrown over it, presents itself immediately upon entering; it is patched together out of fragments of stone and marble that have made part of other fabrics. Upon one of these are several short lines in the Hebrew character, cut in a slovenly manner; we had them interpreted at Acre, and they proved to be merely the names of a Jew and his family, who had scratched this record; it is not probable that any professed Jew has visited the spot for ages past, perhaps not since the period of the Mahommedan conquest; it may lay claim, therefore, to some antiquity, and in any case is a curious appendage to the testimony of Josephus on this subject. There are rags and shreds of yarn, with glass beads and paras, left as votive offerings by the Arabs. Not far from the north-west angle is a passage, descending by steps to a vault or grotto beneath, for we were uncertain which of the two to call it, being covered with so thick a coat of whitewash that it is difficult to distinguish whether it is built or hollowed out. It appeared, in great part at least, a grotto; the roof is covered, but the whole is rude, ill-fashioned, and quite dark; the sheikh, who was not informed that we were Christians—a circumstance which our guide was not aware of—furnished us with a lamp of butter. Towards the farther end of this dark vault lie the two corresponding leaves of an iron grating, which formerly prevented all nearer approach to the tomb of the prophet; they have, however, been thrown down, and we advanced so as to touch it; it was covered by a ragged pall. We were obliged to descend barefooted, and were not without some apprehension of treading on scorpions or other reptiles in such a place."—*Irby and Mangles*, pp. 433—437.

Take Aaron and Eleazar his son, and bring them up to Mount Hor:

"And strip Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son: and Aaron shall be gathered unto his people, and shall die there.

"And Moses did as the Lord commanded: and they went up into Mount Hor, in the sight of all the congregation.

"And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron died there in the top of the mount. And Moses and Eleazar came down from the mount.

"And when all the congregation saw that Aaron was dead, they mourned for Aaron thirty days, even all the house of Israel."[a]

[a] Numbers, xx. 22—29.

CHAPTER XII.

MOUNT HOR. — WADY SABRA. — RUINS. — NAUMACHIA. — PANORAMA. — PREDICTED DESOLATION. — SUMMITS OF HOR. — NABATHEAN AGRICULTURE. — OLD ROAD TO MECCA. — IDUMEAN GRAPES. — LOCUSTS. — PROPHECIES. — AQUEDUCT OF GANA. — AMEIMÉ. — CURIOUS EXCAVATION. — KING OF THE NEGROES. — THE SIMOOM.

By a variety of works on the road which the Israelites pursued, works of too extensive a nature to be introduced into this publication, I found a remarkable coincidence between this position and the one which should be assigned to the Mount Hor of the Bible. The Arabs, so exact in their traditions, venerate the tomb of the prophet Haroun (Aaron), on the top of the mountain, even at the present day. Burckhardt pretended to have made a vow that he would sacrifice a goat to that saint, in order that he might have an excuse for his journey to Wady Mousa. But his guide refused to conduct him farther than the plain, and forced him to consummate his sacrifice within view of the mountain. An old Arab, who acts as the guardian of that venerated place, dwells on the summit of the rock, and receives visits from the inhabitants of Gaza, and the Fellahs of Wady Mousa, who repair thither sometimes apparently for religious purposes, but oftener with a view to

cultivate the scanty portions of soil which the terraces of the mountain offer to the industry of man.

Our guides had promised to show us some *old stones*, by way of compensating us for the haste with which we had quitted the valley of Petra. Accordingly we had scarcely proceeded an hour's distance down the rapid declivity of Wady Sabra, leading our dromedaries after us, when the supporting walls, ruined buildings, and well preserved benches of a theatre attracted our attention. It was a propitious commencement of the new route which we were about to traverse as far as Akaba.

The ruins of Wady Sabra, as well as those of Wady Pabouchebe, indicate these places to have served as suburbs to the capital,—the young swarms sent forth from the parent hive. Had we been enabled to explore the whole of the valleys in the neighbourhood of Wady Mousa, we should, doubtless, have found on all sides similar establishments, which the enormous population of Petra sustained.

Here the character of the ruins marks a town of no importance, which, nevertheless, endeavoured to imitate, on a small scale, the sumptuous ornaments of the capital. Several temples, a wall of inclosure, a bridge, the fortification on the summit of the mountain, might, perhaps, have led a stranger to believe that the town had been one of some consideration, if the details of each of these buildings had not denoted its mediocrity. As an example of its inferiority in this respect, I need

only mention that we observed several columns of stone, covered with a coating of plaster and lime, on which we found remains of the deep red colour with which they had been painted to imitate inlaid work.

One of the ruins of this ancient town, which may be said, however, to be of a higher order, and to display a greater degree of skill in its arrangements, is the theatre, or, as I have called it, the Naumachia. It was not without surprise that we discovered in Arabia Petræa, in the midst of the desert, a naumachia for naval games. The inhabitants, annoyed every year by the torrents in the rainy season, which ravaged their plantations, bethought themselves of erecting barriers against them to restrain their violence. Considerable traces of these works may still be seen extending across the valley. Observing that a part of the waters discharged themselves through an adjoining ravine, they took advantage of it in order to prevent them from passing away. The same efforts of labour, the same contempt for difficulties, which we had remaked in the valley of Petra, were here conspicuous. A reservoir was hollowed out from the rock, and benches were left in relief, cut with great regularity. I sometimes thought that the theatre might have been intended for two kinds of exhibitions. The overflow of the reservoir was conducted by a pipe into the arena of the theatre, which was hewn perpendicularly to a depth of eight feet. Being coated with mastic, which is still well preserved, it would contain the water for

the naval games, a singular entertainment in the midst of the general aridity of the desert. The quantity of water thus collected was doubtless insufficient to resist for any length of time the heat of the sun, and the reservoir was too small to resist the entire evaporation of its contents. Thus the scene in front might probably have served to contain the waters during one part of the year, and may have been used during the other as an arena for actors. The small dimensions of this inclosure, the narrowness of the space within which the boats could have manœuvred, induced me to doubt for an instant the possibility of such games having taken place here, and to look upon the reservoir as an ingenious means for cooling the theatre during the heat of the sun, so oppressive in this climate. But other peculiarities determined me to return to my first opinion.

After having remained in this place the time necessary for finishing our surveys, we continued our journey towards the south; traversing, near to their sources, all the valleys the embouchures of which we had seen in Wady Araba. The topographical details of these two journeys may be sufficiently collected from my general map of Arabia Petræa, which has been drawn up with the greatest care.

We next traversed a small plain, formed by the union, at one point, of several valleys; after which we ascended, with difficulty, a steep acclivity in a zig-zag direction. On arriving at the top of the mountain, called El Nakb, we discovered a singular panorama. The whole country, to the distance of

six leagues all round, exhibited itself in relief, in a sort of trooping array; the mountains, divided by the valleys, appeared in bold ridges throughout their entire length: we were thus enabled to judge of their elevation, and of the general aspect of the country; the desolate character of which it is difficult to represent, even with the aid of the pencil. Several prophets have predicted the misfortunes of Idumea; but the strong expressions of Ezekiel are alone adequate to the description of this joyless scene: —

"Moreover, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying,

"Son of man, set thy face against Mount Seir and prophesy against it:

"And say unto it, Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, O Mount Seir, I am against thee, and I will stretch out mine hand against thee, and I will make thee most desolate.

"I will lay thy cities waste, and thou shalt be desolate, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord.

"Because thou hast had a perpetual hatred, and hast shed the blood of the children of Israel by the force of the sword, in the time of their calamity, in the time that their iniquity had an end.

"Therefore, as I live, saith the Lord God, I will prepare thee unto blood, and blood shall pursue thee: sith thou hast not hated blood, even blood shall pursue thee.

"Thus will I make Mount Seir most desolate, and cut off from it him that passeth out, and him that returneth.

MOUNT HOR.

"And I will fill his mountains with his slain men: in thy hills, and in thy valleys, and in all thy rivers shall they fall that are slain with the sword.

"And I will make thee perpetual desolations, and thy cities shall not return: and ye shall know that I am the Lord.

"Because thou hast said, These two nations and these two countries shall be mine, and we will possess it; whereas the Lord was there:

"Therefore, as I live, saith the Lord God, I will even do according to thine anger, and according to thine envy which thou hast used out of thy hatred against them: and I will make myself known amongst them, when I have judged thee.

"And thou shalt know that I am the Lord, and that I have heard all thy blasphemies which thou hast spoken against the mountains of Israel, saying, They are laid desolate, they are given us to consume.

"Thus with your mouth ye have boasted against me, and have multiplied your words against me: I have heard them.

"Thus saith the Lord God, When the whole earth rejoiceth, I will make thee desolate.

"As thou didst rejoice at the inheritance of the house of Israel, because it was desolate, so will I do unto thee: thou shalt be desolate, O Mount Seir, and all Idumea, even all of it: and they shall know that I am the Lord."[a]

[a] Ezekiel, xxv.

Wady Araba[a], a long plain of sand, descends from the Dead to the Red Sea, in a regular and continued

[a] "On issuing from this rocky country, which terminates the Djebel Shera, on its western side, the Wady Gharendel empties itself into the valley El Araba, in whose sands its waters are lost. This valley is a continuation of the Ghor, which may be said to extend from the Red Sea to the sources of the Jordan. The valley of that river widens about *Jericho*, and its inclosing hills are united to a chain of mountains which open and enclose the Dead Sea. At the southern extremity of the sea they again approach, and leave between them a valley similar to the northern Ghor, in shape; but which the want of water makes a desert, while the Jordan and its numerous tributary streams render the other a fertile plain. In the southern Ghor the rivulets which descend from the eastern mountains, to the south of Wady Szafye, or El Karahy, are lost amidst the gravel in their winter beds, before they reach the valley below, and there are no springs whatever in the western mountain; the lower plain, therefore, in summer is entirely without water, which alone can produce verdure in the Arabian deserts, and render them habitable. The general direction of the southern Ghor is parallel to the road which I took in coming from Khanzyre to Wady Mousa. At the point where we crossed it, near Gharendel, its direction was from north-north-east to south-south-west. From Gharendel it extends southwards for fifteen or twenty hours, till it joins the sandy plain which separates the mountains of Hesma from the eastern branch of the Red Sea. It continues to bear the appellation of El Ghor as far as the latitude of Beszeyra, to the south of which place, as the Arabs informed me, it is interrupted for a short space by rocky ground and Wadys, and takes the name of Araba, which it retains till its termination near the Red Sea. Near Gharendel, where I saw it, the whole plain presented to the view an expanse of shifting sands whose surface was broken by innumerable undulations, and low hills. The sand appears to have been brought from the shores of the Red Sea by the southerly winds; and the Arabs told me that the valley continued to present the same appearance beyond the latitude of Wady Mousa. A few Talh trees (the acacia which produces the gum arabic), Tarfa (tamarisk), Adha, and Rethem, grow among the sand hills; but the depth of sand precludes all vegetation of herbage. Numerous Bedouin tribes encamp here in the winter, when the torrents produce a copious supply of water, and a few shrubs spring up upon their banks, affording pasturage to the sheep and goats; but the camels prefer the leaves of the trees, especially the thorny Talh.

direction. This must evidently have been the bed of the Jordan, before the volcanic eruption took place which formed the actual basin of the Dead Sea. On the right bank, to the west, it is adjoined by Wady Gebb, the valley by which the Fellahs of Petra go to Gaza. On the eastern side we observed, in the midst of a small plain, the isolated rock of El Aase, surmounted by a tomb. More to the right a lofty rock rises in a conical shape, forming, as it were, the first rampart on the borders of Petra: there is a tree upon its summit. Following the same direction we perceive Mount Hor, the most elevated part of the mountain, on the summit of which the tomb of Aaron has been constructed. It is to the east of this point, inclosed, as it were, within a framework of rocks, that the city of Petra, the capital of the Nabatheans, is to be found. The picture, which is a sort of demi-panorama, is terminated by the great chain of mountains which separates Arabia Petræa from Arabia Deserta.

"The existence of the valley El Araba, the *Kadesh Barnea*, perhaps, of the Scriptures, appears to have been unknown both to ancient and modern geographers, although it forms a prominent feature in the topography of Syria and Arabia Petræa. It deserves to be thoroughly investigated, and travellers might proceed along it in winter time, accompanied by two or three Bedouin guides of the tribes of Howeytat and Terabein, who could be procured at Hebron. Akaba, or *Eziongeber*, might be reached in eight days by the same road by which the communication was anciently kept up between Jerusalem and her dependencies on the Red Sea, for this is both the nearest and the most commodious route, and it was by this valley that the treasuers of Ophir were probably transported to the warehouses of Solomon."—*Burckhardt*, pp. 441, 442, 443.

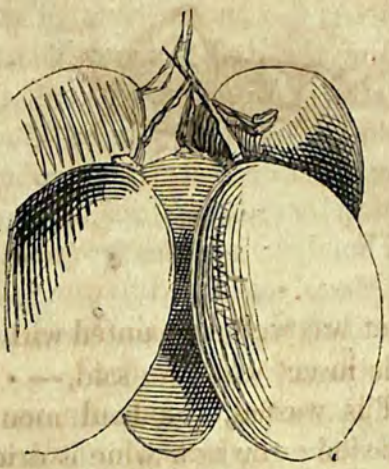
Our course led over the ridges of these mountains, having on our left, at an enormous depth below, the bottom of a valley, where the stones which were loosened by the tread of our animals resounded as they fell into the abyss. The country became more elevated as we advanced, and was, for the most, covered with a fertile soil. The herbage, increasing on all sides, indicated, at every step, the possibility of cultivation; of which, indeed, we observed some traces in heaps of small stones, which we found collected at intervals, and which seemed intended to mark the boundaries of fields. These tokens of industry may have belonged to that remote age when Nabathean agriculture flourished; a period too distant to be vaunted of in the Arabian authors. We stopped at the well of Dalege. At a short distance we found the ruins of a village; the inhabitants of which, doubtless, succeeded in cultivating its environs at the time when the supply of the markets of Petra offered the opportunities of profit. The next day, proceeding towards the east, we reached the highest point of the mountain, which commands, on one side, the entire mass of rocks descending in the direction of Wady Araba; on the other, the great plain of Arabia Deserta, which extends, apparently without any limits, towards Persia. What particularly strikes one at the first moment is, the difference in the level on the two sides of the mountain; the one sinking rapidly into deep and rough ravines,—the other spreading around in a uniform plain, almost of the same height as the mountain itself.

We observed, on the summit, very distinct traces of an ancient road, which extends from the north-east to the south-west; or, rather, from Petra to Akaba. This was the ancient line of commercial intercourse from the Red Sea and Aila, the great entrepôt of Petra. Afterwards it was frequented by the Mussulmen, on their way to Mecca, when Akaba was the rendezvous of the two great caravans; one from Gharb, or Africa, the other from the north. Aboudjazi was the first to give me this information: it was confirmed by the ruins of villages, forts, and cisterns, which were constructed principally for the use of travellers.

On the declivity of the mountain we perceived other ruins of villages, which afford traces of having been inhabited at no remote period. Our guides told us that many such ruins were to be found in that direction. An abundant spring, and a reservoir near it, poured their waters over the plain, and served to irrigate the spots cultivated by the Fellahs. The wonderful fertility of these rare patches of earth, in the midst of a sterile country, seemed intended to remind us that one day that region had been happy, when a powerful hand had not weighed upon it.

There is to be found at Kerak a species of bearded wheat, that justifies the text of the Bible against the charges of exaggeration of which it has been the object; and the vines, also, of this country, of the fruit of which we saw some specimens, account for the enormous grapes which the spies

sent out by Moses brought back from the places they had visited.



GRAPES.

At the present day, in this land of malediction, nothing but the extreme misery of the inhabitants could urge them to cultivate the earth with such persevering industry as they do, seeing the many annoyances to which they are subject. First come the Bedouins; a rapacious race, who are perpetually claiming from the poor agriculturist a portion of his produce, under the pretext of a lawful impost, in return for precarious protection: a most unjust demand, but exacted with too much authority to be resisted. Next appears the locust; who, despising the idea of an impost, approaches with his troops, and lays waste the whole country, spreading, as it were, the winding-sheet of death over every tract on which he lights.

LOCUST.

The prophet was well acquainted with the nature of this terrible insect when he said,—

"The field is wasted, the land mourneth; for the corn is wasted: the new wine is dried up, the oil languisheth.

"The vine is dried up, and the fig-tree languisheth; the pomegranate-tree, the palm-tree also, and the apple-tree, even all the trees of the field, are withered."[a]

"As the morning spread upon the mountains; a great people and a strong: there hath not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after it, even to the years of many generations.

"A fire devoureth before them, and behind them a flame burneth: the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness; yea, and nothing shall escape them.

"The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses; and as horsemen, so shall they run.

[a] Joel, i. 10. 12.

"Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap, like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble, as a strong people set in battle array.

"Before their face the people shall be much pained; all faces shall gather in blackness.

"They shall run like mighty men; they shall climb the walls like men of war; and they shall march every one his ways, and they shall not break their ranks:

"Neither shall one thrust another; they shall walk every one in his path: and when they shall fall upon the sword, they shall not be wounded.

"They shall run to and fro in the city; they shall run upon the wall; they shall climb upon the houses; they shall enter in at the windows like a thief.

"The earth shall quake before them; the heavens shall tremble: the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining."[*]

Continuing our journey through an extensive hollow, which gradually became more elevated, we arrived at the wells of Gana, near which we remarked some ruins: they afforded no indication, however, of any thing beyond a considerable village. On quitting this place, we pursued our way down the mountain; observing with astonishment, as we passed, the ancient aqueduct which conveyed the water from the wells of Gana and Guman to the town of Ameimé, which

[*] Joel, ii. 2—10.

was built in the plain on the road from Petra to Aila. This aqueduct, extending beyond three leagues, follows the level of the surface of the country, above which it never rises. It could only have been by attending most carefully to the undulations of the soil, and by a remarkable proficiency in the scientific operations for taking levels, that the projectors were enabled to succeed in preserving a regular descent for the waters over so great a distance.

Ameimé presents a mass of ruins more considerable than those of any of the villages which we had previously observed. They exhibit, however, no traces of monumental splendour; and, as to the dwelling-houses, they seem only to have been constructed for one purpose — the supply of provisions and water to the caravans which, for commercial or other objects, traversed this great route, and halted within the precincts of the town. Numerous excavations, which are found every where to the depth of some feet, their cemented walls, and skilfully constructed vaults, make this city a city, in fact, of cisterns. Every house appears to have had one of its own; and, besides these, there were public reservoirs for watering animals. One could hardly conceive, without having seen it, but especially without having felt the necessity of the thing from the general appearance of the country, the great care bestowed on the arrangements of this town, with a view to the principal purpose for which it was intended to provide, and the ingenuity with which the waters of the

aqueduct, during summer, and those of the neighbouring ravines, during the rainy season, were conveyed to their destination. At the present day, as every thing is in a state of ruin, the traveller feels still more forcibly, from the absence of the element of which he stands so much in need, the great skill and perseverance of the people who established this halting place.

After having run over the town and its environs, I endeavoured to preserve some record of this collection of dwellings, once rendered so convenient by artificial contrivances in the midst of such naked sterility. I succeeded in including, in the foreground, some of the vaults and cisterns; and, in the distance, a part of the long chain of rocks, which inclose the plain of Ameimé amidst the mountains. I have not given this sketch in the present publication. I drew, at the same time, as exact a plan as I could of the numerous summits of the adjacent rocks, some of which form part of the chain, while others seem isolated; and I was thus enabled to satisfy myself as to the altitudes of Macbert el Abid and of Tor Hesma, as compared with the level of the Red Sea.

We quitted Ameimé, and after a good hour's journey we reached a rock of freestone; which its cisterns, as well as the tradition attached to it, render interesting. The natural embouchures of several ravines having been shut up by strongly built walls form a series of reservoirs for the waters collected during the rainy season. In the midst of these ravines rises a rock, which has been excavated, and

serves as a cistern. Gutters, ingeniously cut in the neighbouring heights, convey the waters into the cistern and reservoirs thus constructed; and the Bedouins of the desert who pass that way usually find them well supplied the whole year round.

The tradition, the origin of which it would be interesting to discover, prevailing amongst the Arabs concerning these reservoirs is to this effect: — In former times the King of the Negroes came to ravage this country with innumerable troops. He had already, it was said, driven before him the whole of the inhabitants, when, having arrived in the plain of Ameimé, he wished to quench his thirst in these cisterns; bending down to the surface of the water, after the manner of the Arabs, he fell in. One of his guards, who ran to assist him, fell in also; and another, endeavouring to rescue the latter, met with the same fate. Thus the whole army was swallowed up, and the rock received the name of Macbert el Abid. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the cistern would not contain a hundred persons; but traditions, especially those of the southern countries, do not attend very strictly to the rules of probability.

Pursuing our course towards the Red Sea, we passed by a fort built in the style of those of Akaba, Moila, Nackel, Tor, &c.: near it was a vast cistern, but without water. The valley we now entered gradually became more and more narrow, being confined between rocks that, disengaging themselves from the strata of chalk and limestone by which they had been hitherto crowned, displayed

immense naked masses of basalt and granite. The weather was oppressive in the extreme; the sky assumed a dull grey colour; the sun appearing as through a thick fog; whirlwinds of fine sand traversed the air; and then a warm wind, which almost stifled us in the valley, involved us in clouds of burning sand, which acted on the skin like innumerable pricks of needles. The camels proceeded, holding down their heads: we covered our heads in our cloaks and kefiehs, and were almost suffocated for the want of respirable air, when Djaza made us a sign to stop near a small ravine, in order to allow the Khamsin, or dangerous simoom of Arabia Deserta, to pass by.

In these valleys, where the wind has no free passage, the heat during these storms is almost overwhelming: but the Khamsin is here seldom fatal, because the whirlwinds of sand are carried over a less heated surface, which mitigates the temperature. We congratulated ourselves, therefore, in the midst of the fatigue which we suffered, on not having been caught by the simoom on the plains of the desert, and on having found refuge in this valley for our caravan. Thus the mariner thanks Heaven for having reached a port where the waves and the wind still beat against his vessel, only to remind him of the unfortunate adventurers whom the tempest would surprise on the high seas.

TOR.

CHAPTER XIII.

VALLEY OF JETOUM. — RETURN TO AKABA. — ARABS OF THE DESERT. — THEIR ARMS. — CHARACTER OF THE ARABS. — M. LINANT. — HUSSEIN. — "OLD STONES." — VISIT TO SUPPOSED SARCOPHAGI. — DISAPPOINTMENT. — WADY BARABRA. — PASTORAL HOSPITALITY. — MOUNTAINEERS. — WADY HEBRAN. — TOWN OF TOR. — CONVENT NEAR TOR. — ELIM OF SEVENTY PALMS. — LEVEL OF THE RED SEA. — RAS MOHAMMED. — SCENE AT A FOUNTAIN. — WILD PALM TREE. — CONVENT OF ST. CATHARINE. — CHURCH OF THE CONVENT. — GRAND MOSAIC.

CONTINUING to descend the valley of Jetoum, we found behind a rock, which renders the passage narrow and easy to be interrupted, two large fortified buildings in ruins. Farther down, the valley turns suddenly to the west-north-west, and receives Wady Amran. On the rock, which forms a point for the confluence of the two ravines, a fortification

has been erected, which is well situated for the protection of this straightened road. A league farther on, we found a large wall, erected for the purpose of inclosing the valley, and of leaving only a narrow passage, which it would be more easy to defend. The waters, in their rapid passage, have enlarged the opening; but they have been obliged to respect a part of this bold barrier: this is the wall, to which I have already alluded, and which the warrior Hadid, alone, could clear with his fleet courser. This system of defence, which the Arabs still preserve, and which the Tohrats put into practice a few years since against the troops of Mehemet Ali, is found in all these countries: it is mentioned by several travellers.

We had here an altercation with some Arabs of the tribe of Amrans: a camel, stolen by the Alaouins, gave rise to the quarrel, which has existed for several years. As usual, there were loud exclamations, abundance of gesticulations and menaces; but great care was taken on both sides not to exasperate, by the slightest blow, a discussion which, after all, was not worth being attended by consequences of a more serious nature.

A fourth fortification, and also the last, defends the embouchure of Wady Jetoum into Wady Araba: on turning to the south, we resumed our former road, and once more found ourselves in Akaba. These two routes, entirely new, which we had traversed, are replete with interest; for they present an explanation of all the remarkable characteristics which have successively given importance to that country:

first, the emigration of the Israelites; then, the commercial expeditions of Solomon; those of the conquest of Antigonus; the commercial enterprises of Petra; the chivalrous and unfortunate attempts of Reynaud, governor of Karac, against Mecca; and, finally, the ancient route of the caravan of Mecca.

At Akaba we were received with the same unvarying kindness as before. We waited there two days for the messenger whom I despatched to Cairo for the money; we then paid our guides for the attention and protection we had received from them; and having deducted a reasonable sum for the guns and the shawls we had given them, we satisfied every body, assuring them, at the same time, that many Europeans, when informed of the security which we had enjoyed under their guidance, would come hither to make the same tour, now that it was attended with every kind of facility. I trust that the efforts which I constantly made to procure a good reception every where for Europeans, attempting the same journey may be productive of the best effects. This is a duty which no traveller ought ever to forget.

A work remains to be written on the Arab of the desert, on his domestic life, and his external manners. It has been frequently attempted, but documents have been wanted to complete it. They have lately, however, become sufficiently numerous to exhibit a complete picture: the hand to paint it is alone wanted.

I have here represented a nomade troop, whose

ARABS OF THE DESERT.

attention has been arrested by some traces of footsteps. Three Arabs are discussing the direction of the steps, and the date of their impression in the sand: in the mean time the caravan approaches, the women mounted on camels, the men on horseback, the lance on the shoulder. During these journies in the desert, where personal safety is always precarious, the guarantees for it being uncertain, every body moves on with the utmost circumspection, his eyes fixed on every thing that can give him fresh information; and many a long day is occupied in this sort of conversation, on the traces of the footsteps, on the age, more or less recent, of the dung of the camel.

The Arabs, warriors from habit, engaged in continual conflicts, which are inseparable from the nature of their country, as well as the constitution of their society, never go out unarmed. But these

arms vary in their form and description according to the tribes, and the different parts of the desert which they frequent. The mounted Bedouin of Arabia Deserta, for example, carries a lance of eleven or twelve feet in length, and a sabre: the men on foot have guns, but few in number; the poorest of the tribe carry a simple club (cobbous); the chieftains sometimes wear pistols.

The Arabs of Arabia Petræa, whether Tohrats or Thyats, have no lance; but, by way of compensation for it, they possess many guns, and exhibit a degree of skill in the use of arms which renders them formidable to their neighbours, and enables them to preserve their independence. In order that they might fire more rapidly, they carry cartouches prepared in small wooden pipes, which they suspend across the breast: a large pear-shaped case of powder for charging, and a smaller one for priming, complete their equipment. They wear besides in the cincture an enormous poniard, or rather a cutlass, which they make use of, however, more frequently in cutting up a sheep, than as a weapon of attack against man. The Bedouins of Arabia Deserta ride on horseback, and wield their lances with great skill; those of Arabia Petræa have only camels; therefore they fight generally on foot, and guns are more suitable to their habits.

All this external appearance of warlike and savage habits ought not, at the same time, to lead a stranger to look upon this people as wicked and sanguinary. Quite the contrary: the Arab is

patient, mild, and humane; in time of peace, and when at a distance from him whom the laws declare to be his enemy, he cautiously avoids pushing a quarrel to extremities. We were often surprised to find that in the midst of the angry gesticulations and cries that arose every moment, in consequence of the confusion which necessarily prevailed when preparing to resume our journies, the gun or the sabre was not appealed to as an arbitrator of all disputes. But we had not then been sufficiently aware of the results that would have followed from an actual sanguinary combat, which would most probably have given rise to family feuds, or to a war amongst the whole tribe, — an eventual danger always hanging over them, and calculated to restrain within the limits of mutual respect that countless multitude, who, without laws, authorities, police, or any form of government, have subsisted through ages, still preserving the same sort of organization, in the midst of empires once firmly constituted, which have, nevertheless, fallen into decay.

I have observed in use also amongst them a sandal formed of fish skin, such as may be purchased at Tor, and which I myself wore during my journey; a wooden box for containing pounded coffee, a plain tobacco pipe, and a tobacco bag made of the skin of the lizard.

We followed the coast as far as Wady Outir; then, entering that valley, we ascended to the north, and descended by Wady Safran, towards Sinai, by the only passage which is to be found

Laborde del.t L. Haghe Lith. Day & Haghe Lith.rs to the King

THE WILDERNESS OF SINAI, A VALLEY NEAR OUADI OUTIR.

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through the long chain of Tih. This is the route which pilgrims and travellers have always taken on going from Gaza to Mount Sinai.

M. Linant having received, by our messenger, letters which rendered it necessary for him to return to Cairo, we were compelled to separate; for I was anxious to complete the tour which I had undertaken, and to finish the exploration of the whole peninsula, especially in an archaiological and topographical point of view. It was arranged that M. Linant should take with him M. Petitjean, Toualeb, and another guide, and that I should keep Hussein and the other Tohrats.

Hussein, whom I have often mentioned, was of the tribe of Oualed Said. An excellent warrior and hunter, and renowned for his generous hospitality, he united in himself all the qualities which render a Bedouin respectable; especially those of so much importance to the traveller, unimpeachable integrity, discretion which always deserved to be confided in, and, what is very rare, genuine fidelity. It was with him that I made all my arrangements as to the route which I wished to take, the guides whom I should employ, and the provisions which it was necessary to purchase. We set out for Tor by Wady Hebran.

Hussein, whom his favourite sports of the chase had often led into the steepest ravines, most remote from the usual paths, was perfectly conversant with every part of the peninsula of Sinai. He assured me that "old stones" were to be met with only at Sinai, Serbal, and in the Wadys Feiran, Mokatteb,

Magara, and Sarbent el Cadem. Besides, he said that he had found near Wady Hebran, *large boxes* in the rock, and promised to conduct me to them on the way to Tor. I was desirous of ascertaining the nature of those ancient remains, which, from his descriptions, I concluded to be sarcophagi.

After having descended the rapid declivity of Wady Hebran, we turned to the left into Wady Otsmet, which is encumbered with large fragments of rock, rolled into it by the torrents in the rainy season. It became necessary that we should leave the camels behind us, and that Hussein and I alone should endeavour to climb the mountain, through passages which the most intrepid chamois hunter would have contemplated with astonishment. Leaving a well on our left, we discerned before us frightful traces of a pathway; but, on advancing a little farther, I was not a little surprised to find these dangerous steeps and abrupt loosened rocks, the former levelled, the latter made firm, so as to present a passable, and even a convenient, road. Here were all the traces of patient and persevering industry, but there was nothing to inform us who were the projectors, or what was the object of this work in the midst of this chaos of the desert. The path, which the rains had injured in some places, conducts to the top of a rock, forming one of the sides of a narrow opening, across which the waters run from the highest part of the Wady. We observed at the bottom of a larger and more uniform space, forming the valley in this elevated part, shrubs and palm trees, and an extent of ver-

dure which no one would have expected to find in such a region. An abundant spring sustains this vegetation; the waters run through Wady Hebran to the sea.

The road now ceased to present any difficulty, requiring no further labour to render it practicable. I arrived, not without fatigue, however, at another summit of rocks, whence I observed a different declivity, as well as a new Wady. Descending by a path that seemed the usual passage, we arrived at a rock, near which Hussein, his face radiant with joy, stopped me. This excellent man, feeling for the weariness I showed by my repeated questions as to the distance we had still to go, seemed happy to have it in his power to compensate me with a sight of antiquities, by which, he believed, I should be deeply interested. "*Behold the boxes,*" said he, a little farther on: my strength was renewed, — I ran forward, — but I could not conceal the contempt which I felt on seeing, instead of sarcophagi, or any remains of antiquity, some irregular designs, — wretchedly scratched on the side of a rock, representing camels, goats, and men, mingled with some Sinaite inscriptions. An outline in the form of a box had appeared remarkable to Hussein. I owed this disappointment to the caution with which I have always, during my journies, endeavoured to verify with my own eyes the information given me by the people of the country.

Hussein was the more afflicted, as he could not understand why these antiquities had no value in my estimation. In the mean time evening was

setting in. The sun projected along the bottom of the valleys the gigantic shadows of the rocks, and some herds of black goats, mingled with white sheep, speckled, on their return to the encampment, sometimes the gilded sands of the Wady, sometimes its sides of rose-coloured granite. This picture, although it told me of the impossibility of rejoining my dragoman and my other guides that night, assured me, at least, of some chance of provisions. We descended to the bottom of the valley. The path again exhibited traces of labour, and of the vicinity of some habitations. On reaching a level space situated between two ravines, we found the ruins of a convent. All the environs of Sinai and Serbal are strewed with similar ruins; indications of the great importance which was formerly attached to this sacred country. This valley, called Wady Barabra, was well situated for such an institution; its springs and general fertility, but, above all, its position on the road from Tor to Sinai, presented several advantages indispensable to a convent.

Hussein preceded me to two tents which we perceived at the bottom of the valley, and which at a distance looked like two pieces of black cloth spread out to dry. When I had sufficiently examined the nature of the ruins and the disposition of the valley, I rejoined him. He had already prepared for me a good reception, the chief of this little isolated encampment being one of his allies. Some coffee, a pipe, and a kid for supper, proved, if not the magnificence, at least the liberality of our host. A place under his tent was all the accommodation he

could offer me for the night. Enveloped in my mashlah, I lay down on the sand, as I had already been accustomed to do; and doubtless should have slept soundly as usual, if the whole herd of goats, and especially the kids, had not considered my body as an object upon which they thought fit to display their agility; a sort of citadel, the possession of which they acquired and disputed in turn, by pushing each other with their horns, and gambolling about in all directions.

While the early sun, still concealed behind the summit of the rocks, was darting his long rays through the ravines, and was rising majestically towards the tops of the mountains, bathing, in the mean time, the valleys in a deluge of light, we took our departure from the tent of our hospitable shepherd. Hussein, with that sort of prudence which is taught by the life of the desert, had purchased a kid, and carried it away on his shoulders, in spite of its bleatings, and those of the whole herd, which responded to its adieus. A feeling of revenge for the disturbance I had suffered during the night rendered me insensible to these cries of nature. The path we had already trod conducted us once more to our camels and guides, who were anxiously expecting us.

Two hunters, who, during the last three days, had been out among the mountains in pursuit of game, came down to us on perceiving our fire, which promised them some coffee. Their conversation having satisfied me that they were perfectly acquainted with the peninsula, and their features

being agreeable, I was induced to engage them as guides.

We descended Wady Hebran, a deep pathway traced between enormous mountains of granite, where the occasional appearance of water on the surface of the soil calls forth a degree of vegetation pleasing to the eye. Several groups of palm trees rise gracefully in tufted clusters near a recess of the rocks: some of them, however, had been burnt by the imprudence of an old Arab, who had made a fire at their feet. The valley debouches on the plain of Gaa, which, from its rapid inclination towards the sea, appears to be much larger than it really is. Several of the fragments of rocks rolled into it exhibit, on their polished sides, designs and Sinaite inscriptions.

A mountain, extending to the north, forms the western boundary of the long plain of Gaa. At the point where it vanishes towards the south, and in the sinuosities which the waters have formed by their currents, there is a large plantation of palms; in the midst of which we perceived some habitations, poor in appearance, but indicative, nevertheless, of comfort, when compared with the solitudes which we had traversed. This valley is called emphatically *the Wady;* the houses belong to inhabitants of Tor, whom the fevers drive away a part of the year from the borders of the sea. A Maalem named Ellias received us most hospitably, and would not allow us to go on to the town until we had partaken of an enormous pilau; after which we smoked and took coffee.

Soon after quitting this species of garden, ornamented with pleasure houses, we passed across a marshy tract, and reached a whitish looking town, which appeared wretched and quite deserted. This town is Tor; the only one now existing in Arabia Petræa, the only port on the coast where a safe harbour is found, and good water may be obtained. To these two circumstances, indeed, it owes its continuance: its decline has been the consequence of the loss of its trade, its inhabitants having disappeared with the vessels that formerly frequented it; few of which now revisit its bay, except at very distant intervals.

During my stay in this place, a vessel was at anchor in this port; and the crew, while waiting for the water which they intended to take in, landed for the purpose of bathing in the warm spring which is found near El Bourg. It was in going thither myself that I met them; and I remarked, as at Suez, that they were all negroes, except the master and boatswain.

The monks of Mount Sinai possess, at the distance of three fourths of a league to the north of the town of Tor, immense plantations of palms, which they pay the Arabs for cultivating. The produce is conveyed by camels to the convent. The dates are distilled, and produce a kind of spirit of an inferior description, which forms the ordinary beverage of the brethren. A solitary monk resides in a small fort—*el Bourg*—which has been constructed at one of the angles of the wall of inclosure. Notwithstanding the precaution with which

he draws after him the ladder that enables him to ascend to his dwelling, he is nevertheless frequently compelled to yield to the violence of the Arabs, who demand from him, as a reward for their protection, bread and other provisions.

The number of palm trees here naturally led the pilgrims, who formerly came by the way of Gaa, Tor, and Wady Seleh, to visit the convent of Sinai, to believe that this was the site of the Elim of seventy palm trees mentioned in the Bible; and it si so marked in most of their records. But the mere existence of palm trees is not sufficient to fix the position of Elim, and the relations of distance accord too little with Scripture to permit the adoption of such an opinion.

I observed to the south of Tor, on the other side of its harbour, a fortress, which, though wholly deserted and in ruins, allowed me easily to trace the plan on which it was erected. The character of its construction reminded me of the fortresses of Akaba, of Nackel, Moilah, as well as that of Wady Jetoum. When the tide is in, the waves beat against its walls; and as there is nothing to show that it was originally built in the sea, it is one proof, in conjunction with several others, that the level of the Red Sea has not been altered, and that the shallowness of its harbours, and the distance from it of some towns which would seem to have been built on its coast, have been caused by the accumulation of the sands.

On leaving Tor I proceeded to the south-east, towards Ras Mohammed, keeping along the coast;

RAS MOHAMMED.

of which I carefully took the outlines. This route is usually followed by the pilgrims to Mecca, the merchants, and especially the messengers of the Pacha, when contrary winds detain them in the port of Cherm. There the tribes are in attendance with their dromedaries, and in six days they reach Cairo.

The point of Ras Mohammed, formed of limestone mixed with fossils, is seen at a considerable distance, appearing white upon the azure ground of the sea. I halted near a week, in order to draw, with more accuracy than had yet been attained, the topographical appearance of this cape. There was here nothing worthy of remark, except a few huts belonging to fishermen, and, a little farther on, upon a small island, a heap of ruins, the position of which seemed to indicate a pyramidal erection, probably intended as a lighthouse for the benefit of navigation at the most southern part of the peninsula.

The sea had thrown up on the shore of the creek formed by Ras Mohammed two turtle shells, four feet in length. Some small tribes of Arabs, who, from their occupation, as well as the food they principally live upon, are called Ichtyophagi, employ themselves in the turtle fishery among the neighbouring islands. The shells which we found were so much injured by the effect of the salt water that they were not worth removal.

We held on by the coast of Cherm el Beit, a small creek so called from a building now in ruins, but still visible at the foot of the mountain; and after passing

over some projecting rocks, we descended to the coast of Cherm el Bir. Some wells, protected by a scanty shade, here offer to the thirsty mariner and traveller a brackish kind of water, wholly unfit for use. After having drunk of the wells of Moses, of Wady Garandel and Nouebe, I did not imagine, that I could feel so much repugnance as I experienced on tasting this water. Even to the Arabs it was disagreeable: our camels alone satisfied their thirst with it. While we were taking in the supply of water necessary for our journey, a young Arab girl, followed by a herd of goats, came to water her animals. I desired my guides to serve her first, as I wished, on this scriptural territory, to behold its ancient manners renewed with reference to this kind of civility.

"But the priest of Midian had seven daughters: and they came and drew water, and filled the troughs to water their father's flock.

"And the shepherds came and drove them away: but Moses stood up and helped them, and watered their flock.

"And when they came to Reuel their father, he said, How is it that ye are come so soon to-day?

"And they said, An Egyptian delivered us out of the hands of the shepherds, and also drew water enough for us, and watered the flock."[a]

All this waste is covered with shells, which the sea throws up from its bosom.

The route which I pursued, on leaving Cherm,

[a] Exodus, ii. 16—19.

is highly interesting in a topographical point of view; for, on traversing the ravines which, on this side of the mountain, penetrate some to the east, others to the west, it gave me exactly the great framework of the country, the details of which it was easy for me to fill in. I drew some sketches of it, which, however, the great number of the

WILD PALM TREE.

plates of a more interesting nature has prevented me from publishing. We found here also different Sinaite inscriptions, and several of those designs indicating the infancy of the art, of which I shall speak in a subsequent page.

I could not, at the same time, pass over, without notice, a palm tree, in its natural state, which we found in the upper part of Wady Seleh. We always

represent the trunk of a palm tree shooting up to some distance, and then suffering its crooked branches to spring forth, from which gracefully hang the dates as brilliant as corals; never thinking that all this elegance is the effect of art, and that Nature, less studied in her attitudes, attends only to the preservation of the tree. The above wood-cut exhibits a palm, such as it may be found in a wild state, growing larger from year to year, making for itself a rampart of its decayed branches, and rising, as it were, perpetually from its own ruins. Neglected by the Arab of the desert, who considers every kind of cultivation as beneath his dignity, the palm sometimes forms impenetrable forests. More frequently, however, it is found in solitary state, near a spring, as the design shows it; thus presenting to the thirsty traveller a welcome signal, which assures him of water for refreshment, and of a friendly shade for repose.

Continuing our course towards the north, we arrived within sight of Sinai, by a series of valleys which expand or become narrow according to their composition and the rapidity of the currents that flow through them. After passing a considerable ridge of the mountain which forms the two grand outlets of the peninsula, (one, that of Wady Cheick, which takes its course with Feiran into the Gulf of Suez, the other that of Zackal, which descends towards the Gulf of Akaba,) we perceived the Convent of St. Catharine, standing silently in the midst of the majestic mountains by which it is commanded. On the left rises Mount Horeb, a prolongation of Sinai; and in the distance extends

MOUNT SINAI.—CONVENT OF ST. CATHERINE FROM ABOVE.

LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY

the plain where the people of Israel encamped on their journey through the wilderness.

In order to vary the costume, I have imagined a caravan of Mograbbins approaching the mosque of the convent on their return from Mecca. It is usual, when a caravan arrives at the end of a journey, to discharge a few guns as a signal of rejoicing.

It is not without some degree of embarrassment that I enter on the description of the plates which represent these celebrated places; for, not wishing to go into details, which would extend too far this summary of my tour, I am compelled to indicate briefly only those objects that are most interesting. Many other travellers indeed have described them, leaving me little to add; though I have had enough to do to reconcile and render intelligible the information which they have left us. I shall here, however, content myself with quoting a description, already grown old, of the exterior of the convent, given by the superior of the Franciscans, in the account of the journey he made in 1722: —

"The mountain situated to the north-east is dedicated to St. Bestin (St. Episteme); the other, to the right, is Mount Horeb; between both is the convent of Sinai. It is built in an oblong form, and has only one great gate, which opens to the north-west; the sides or walls of the convent, on the north-west, as well as on the south-east, are two hundred and four French feet in length; the two others, of which one is to the south-west, and the

other to the north-east, are two hundred and forty-five feet in length, and are principally constructed of square stones, six feet each in size. The walls are of unequal height, as they follow the inequalities of the earth. I measured the western angle, and found it to be forty-five feet in height. As the principal gate is always barricaded, to prevent surprises on the part of the Arabs, whoever wishes to enter the convent must take hold of a cord, and allow himself to be drawn up to a window thirty feet high, formed in the wall, which looks towards the north-east."

P. Belon, Neitzchitz, Pococke, Niebuhr, Turner, Henniker, Newmann, and Bussiere, have given representations of the monastery.[a] The views which

[a] "The convent of Mount Sinai is situated in a valley so narrow, that one part of the building stands on the western mountain, while a space of twenty paces only is left between its walls and the eastern mountain. The valley is open to the north, from whence approaches the road from Cairo; to the south, close behind the convent, it is shut up by a third mountain, less steep than the others, over which passes the road to Sherm. The convent is an irregular quadrangle of about one hundred and thirty paces, enclosed by high and solid walls, built with blocks of granite, and fortified by several small towers. While the French were in Egypt, a part of the east wall, which had fallen down, was completely rebuilt by order of General Kleber, who sent workmen here for that purpose. The upper part of the walls in the interior is built of a mixture of granite-sand and gravel, cemented together by mud, which has acquired great hardness.

"The convent contains eight or ten small court-yards, some of which are neatly laid out in beds of flowers and vegetables; a few date-trees and cypresses also grow there, and great numbers of vines. The distribution of the interior is very irregular, and could not be otherwise, considering the slope upon which the building stands; but the whole is very clean and neat. There are a greater number of small rooms in the lower and upper stories, most of which are at present unoccupied. The principal building in the interior is the great church, which, as well

I have given clearly show the plan of this large building, consisting of a series of separate apart-

as the convent, was built by the Emperor Justinian, but it has subsequently undergone frequent repairs. The form of the church is an oblong square; the roof is supported by a double row of fine granite pillars, which have been covered with a coat of white plaster, perhaps because the natural colour of the stone was not agreeable to the monks, who saw granite on every side of them. The capitals of the columns are of different designs; several of them bear a resemblance to palm branches, while others are a close but coarse imitation of the latest period of Egyptian sculpture, such as is seen at Philæ, and in several temples in Nubia. The dome over the altar still remains as it was constructed by Justinian, whose portrait, together with that of his wife Theodora, may yet be distinguished on the dome, together with a large picture of the transfiguration, in honour of which event the convent was erected. An abundance of silver lamps, paintings, and portraits of saints adorn the walls round the altar; among the latter is a St. Christopher, with a dog's head. The floor of the church is finely paved with slabs of marble.

"The church contains the coffin in which the bones of St. Catherine were collected from the neighbouring mountain of St. Catherine, where her corpse was transported after her death by the angels in the service of the monks. The silver lid of a sarcophagus likewise attracts attention; upon it is represented at full length the figure of the Empress Anne of Russia, who entertained the idea of being interred in the sarcophagus, which she sent here; but the monks were disappointed of this honour. In a small chapel adjoining the church is shown the place where the Lord is supposed to have appeared to Moses in the burning bush; it is called Alyka, and is considered as the most holy spot in Mount Sinai. Besides the great church, there are twenty-seven smaller churches or chapels dispersed over the convent, in many of which daily masses are read, and in all of them at least one every Sunday.

"The convent formerly resembled in its establishment that of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which contains churches of various sects of Christians. Every principal sect, except the Calvinists and Protestants, had its churches in the convent of Sinai. I was shown the chapels belonging to the Syrians, Armenians, Copts, and Latins, but they have long been abandoned by their owners. The church of the Latins fell into ruins at the close of the seventeenth century, and has not been rebuilt. But what is more remarkable than the existence of so many churches, is, that, close by the great church, stands a Mahometan mosque,

ments, all of which, as well as the wall of enclosure, are constructed on the side of the valley. The four peculiar features of the convent are conspicuous: the mosque, the church, the solitary cypress, and the window, the sole entrance into this great religious fortress.

INTERIOR OF THE CONVENT.

When we entered the convent we were surprised, after having just quitted the desert, where we had seen only a wretched and unsettled people, to find the interior so neatly arranged and in such excellent order, and inhabited by so many cheerful and healthy looking monks. Ascending to their

spacious enough to contain two hundred people at prayers. The monks told me that it was built in the sixteenth century, to prevent the destruction of the convent."—*Burckhardt*, pp. 541—543.

apartments, we beheld from them that magnificent prospect, to which no artificial addition has been made to increase the charm of reality. The air of tranquillity, however, which we observed is far from being uniform: clouds frequently lower over this peaceable horizon. During my sojourn there, a pilgrim received a ball in the thigh, skilfully aimed at him by a Bedouin, who thought he was paying off one of the monks to whom he owed some grudge. He had remained some time on the watch for his prey, upon the top of one of the rocks which command the walls. The convent was all in alarm, for their disputes with the Bedouins seldom proceed to the extent of bloodshed. A parley was held; and, doubtless, the affair was arranged after my departure. This continual state of anxiety, which pervades so tranquil an abode, must have become a sort of habit. Looking through the innumerable narratives of pilgrims, we find such occurrences to be of very old date. In 1598, Harrant de Polschitz was obliged to visit Mounts Sinai and St. Catharine, accompanied only by some Arabs, none of the monks daring to attend him through fear of being molested or made prisoners by the Bedouins.[a]

[a] "The discipline of these monks, with regard to food and prayer, is very severe. They are obliged to attend mass twice in the day and twice in the night. The rule is that they shall taste no flesh whatever all the year round; and in their great fast they not only abstain from butter, and every kind of animal food and fish, but also from oil, and live four days in the week on bread and boiled vegetables, of which one small dish is all their dinner. They obtain their vegetables from a pleasant garden adjoining the building, into which there is a subterraneous passage; the soil is stony, but in this climate, wherever water is in plenty, the very rocks will pro-

The church of the convent deserves particular attention on account of the style of its ornaments,

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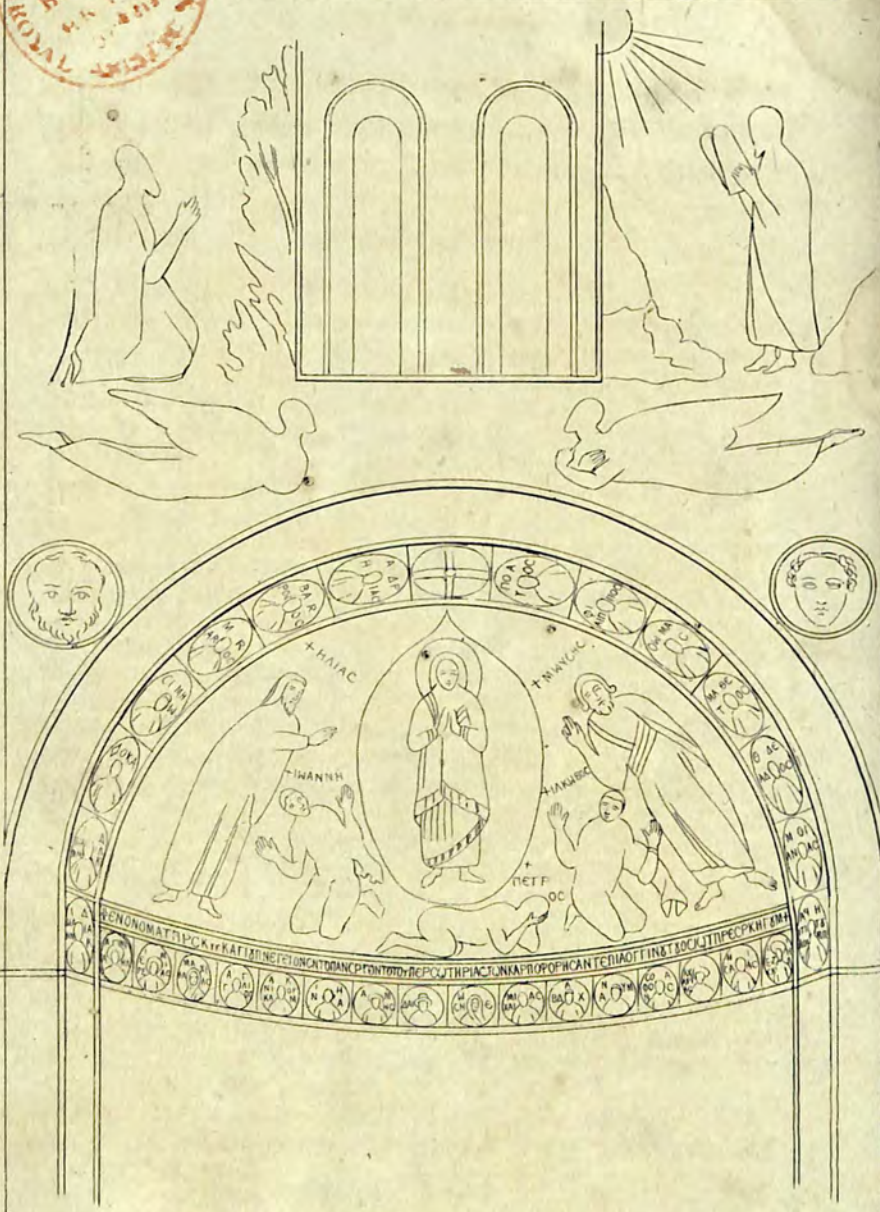
duce vegetation. The fruit is of the finest quality; oranges, lemons, almonds, mulberries, apricots, peaches, pears, apples, olives, Nebek trees, and a few cypresses overshade the beds, in which melons, beans, lettuces, onions, cucumbers, and all sorts of culinary and sweet-scented herbs are sown. The garden, however, is very seldom visited by the monks, except by the few whose business it is to keep it in order; for, although surrounded by high walls, it is not inaccessible to the Bedouins, who for the three last years have been the sole gatherers of the fruits, leaving the vegetables only for the monks, who have thus been obliged to repurchase their own fruit from the pilferers, or to buy it in other parts of the peninsula.

"The excellent air of the convent, and the simple fare of the inhabitants, render diseases rare. Many of the monks are very old men, in the full possession of their mental and bodily faculties. They have all taken to some profession; a mode of rendering themselves independent of Egypt, which was practised here even when the three hundred private chambers were occupied, which are now empty, though still ready for the accommodation of pious settlers. Among the twenty-three monks who now remain, there is a cook, a distiller, a baker, a shoemaker, a tailor, a carpenter, a smith, a mason, a gardener, a maker of candles, &c. &c.; each of these has his workshop, in the worn-out and rusty utensils of which are still to be seen the traces of the former riches and industry of the establishment. The rooms in which the provisions are kept are vaulted, and built of granite with great solidity: each kind of provision has its purveyor. The bake-house and distillery are still kept up upon a large scale. The best bread is of the finest quality; but a second and third sort is made for the Bedouins who are fed by the convent. In the distillery they make brandy from dates, which is the only solace these recluses enjoy, and in this they are permitted to indulge even during the fasts.

"Most of the monks are natives of the Greek islands: in general they do not remain more than four or five years, when they return to their own country, proud of having been sufferers among Bedouins; some, however, have been here forty years. A few of them only understood Arabic; but none of them write or read it. Being of the lower orders of society, and educated only in convents, they are extremely ignorant. Few of them read even the modern Greek fluently, excepting in their prayer-books, and I found but one who had any notion of the ancient Greek. They have a good library, but it is always shut up;



GREAT MOSAIC WORK IN THE CHURCH OF THE CONVENT OF ST CATHERINE.
(Mount Sinai.)

London. J. Murray, Albemarle St. 1835.

and more especially the fine mosaic which embellishes the vault, beneath which the relics of St. Catharine are preserved. It is the narrowest part of

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it contains about fifteen hundred Greek volumes, and seven hundred Arabic manuscripts; the latter, which I examined volume after volume, consist entirely of books of prayer, copies of the Gospels, lives of saints, liturgies, &c.; a thick folio volume of the works of Lokman, edited, according to the Arab tradition, by Hormus, the ancient king of Egypt, was the only one worth attention. The prior would not permit it to be taken away, but he made me a present of a fine copy of the Aldine Odyssey, and an equally fine one of the Anthology. In the room anciently the residence of the Archbishop, which is very elegantly paved with marble, and extremely well furnished, though at present unoccupied, is preserved a beautiful ancient manuscript of the Gospels in Greek, which I was told was given to the convent by 'an emperor called Theodosius.' It is written in letters of gold upon vellum, and ornamented with portraits of the apostles.

"Notwithstanding the ignorance of these monks, they are fond of seeing strangers in their wilderness; and I met with a more cordial reception among them than I did in the convents of Libanus, which are in possession of all the luxuries of life. The monks of Sinai are even generous: three years ago they furnished a Servian adventurer, who styled himself a Knes, and pretended to be well known to the Russian government, with sixty dollars to pay his journey back to Alexandria, on his informing them of his destitute circumstances.

"At present the convent is seldom visited: a few Greeks from Cairo and Suez, and the inhabitants of Tor, who repair here every summer, and encamp with their families in their garden, are the only persons who venture to undertake the journey through the desert. So late as the last century regular caravans of pilgrims used to come here from Cairo, as well as Jerusalem; a document preserved by the monks states the arrival in one day of eight hundred Armenians from Jerusalem; and at another time of five hundred Copts from Cairo. I believe that from sixty to eighty is the greatest number of visitors that can now be reckoned in a year. In the small but neat room which I occupied, and which is assigned to all strangers whom the prior receives with any marks of distinction, were the names of some of the latest European travellers who have visited the convent."—*Burckhardt*, pp. 549—552.

the church, and the lamps and tapers which are continually burning in honour of the saint have blackened the ceiling with their smoke; and, moreover, the light which comes from them strikes on the eyes and prevents them from distinguishing any of the objects above. I succeeded, however, in making a tolerably correct copy of this mosaic. Moses is represented on the left of two windows, which are seen at the top of the design, on his knees before the burning bush; on the right he receives the tables of the law. In my copy Moses wears a beard, which does not accord with the mosaics and miniatures that have come to us from the East, in which he is generally represented with youthful features, without a beard, wearing a long blue tunic and a white cloak. The lower part of the vault represents the transfiguration, which was the symbol of the convent. In the middle is Christ; on the right Elias; on the left Moses; and at the bottom of the picture Saints John, Peter, and James, struck with astonishment and dazzled by the celestial light. At the top of the vault two medallions contain portraits of the founders of the convent, the Emperor Justinian, and Theodora his consort. The ancient medals and mosaics always represent the Emperor Justinian without a beard; my copy, therefore, is not, perhaps, exact in this respect. Round the arch are seen the names, in Greek, of several saints mixed with those of the functionaries of the monastery at the time when the mosaic was executed.

At the bottom of the niche there is an inscription in Greek, of which the following is a trans-

lation: — "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the whole of this work was executed for the salvation of those who have contributed to it by their donations, under Longinus, the most holy priest and prior." Beneath this inscription there are bust portraits, with these legends, — Daniel, Jeremy, Malachy, Haggai, Habbacuc, Joel, Amos, David, Hosea, Micah, Abdias, Nahum, Σοφονίας, Zechariah, Isaias, and Ezekiel.

EL BOURG.

CHAPTER XIV.

WINDOW OF ST. CATHARINE'S. — VISIT TO MOUNT SINAI. — ROAD OF THE PILGRIMS. — SUMMIT OF THE MOUNTAIN. — THE STONE OF MOSES. — DJEBEL SERBAL. — HERD OF GAZELLES. — GAZELLE SHOOTING. — WADY MOKATTEB. — INSCRIPTIONS OF MOKATTEB. — INSCRIPTIONS. — UNINTELLIGIBLE CHARACTERS. — DESIGNS. — VIEW OF WADY MOKATTEB. — WADY MAGARA. — HIEROGLYPHICS. — MARA OF SCRIPTURE. — ATTACK ON A CARAVAN. — LOWER EGYPT, — MEHEMET ALI. — TOHRAT KINDNESS.

In order to complete my pilgrimage, it was necessary that I should ascend Mount Sinai. None of the monks were disposed to accompany me; they lent me therefore one of their Arabian servants, a sort of Helots among the Bedouins, to

MOUNT SINAI.—CONVENT OF ST. CATHERINE FROM THE NORTH.

be my guide, as well as to carry the provisions which were necessary for this fatiguing journey. I fastened myself to the rope, and the windlass being turned round, I was gently deposited at the foot of the walls. The rope was rapidly drawn up again to assure the poor monks that they were perfectly isolated in the midst of this hostile desert.

The window, which is the only entrance, — the cord, which is the only communication with the external world, — give to the whole of this building a grave and solemn appearance. When I was drawn up by means of this machine, I felt the same impression as if I heard the creek of the hinges of a large door which closes on the visitor who enters through curiosity a state prison. This peculiarity appears to have existed from the time when the monks were obliged to protect themselves from the repeated hostilities of the surrounding Arabs. Harrant de Polschitz, in 1598, and M. Monconys, in 1647, entered the convent by the great gate: but the superior of the Franciscans, in 1722, was hoisted through the window. Sandy, who, in 1610, entered by the iron door, speaks also of a window through which alms were usually dispensed to the Arabs: it is probable that, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the latter had forced the gate, and that from that period the window before appropriated to alms was used for the admission of strangers.

Mount Horeb forms a kind of breast from which Sinai rises. The former alone is seen from the

valley, which accounts for the appearance of the burning bush on that mountain and not on Sinai.

"Now Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father in law, the priest of Midian: and he led the flock to the back side of the desert, and came to the mountain of God, even to Horeb. And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush." [a]

Our course towards the summit of Sinai lay through a ravine to the south-west. The monks had arranged a series of large slabs in tolerably regular order, which once formed a convenient staircase to the top of the mountain. The rains, however, have disturbed them, and, as no repairs had been for a long time attended to, the stairs were in many places in ruins. Just before reaching the foot of Sinai, immediately after quitting Horeb, the traveller sees a door built in the form of an arch; on the key-stone of the arch a cross has been carved. A tradition, preserved by the monks, and repeated by many pilgrims, informs us, that a Jew, having been desirous of ascending Mount Sinai, was stopped by an iron crucifix, which prevented him from pursuing his way; and that, to remove the enchantment, he had himself baptized at the head of a stream which runs into the ravine. An affecting custom used to take place near this door: one of the monks of the convent employed himself there at prayer, and heard the confessions of the pilgrims, who, when thus nearly at the end

[a] Exodus, iii. 1, 2.

VIEW OF THE SUMMIT OF MOUNT SINAI, WITH THE TOMB OF ELISHA.

of their pilgrimage, were not in the habit of accomplishing it until after they had obtained absolution.

MOUNT SINAI.

We passed another similar door before arriving at a small level spot, whence we discovered the summit of Sinai, and the two edifices which surmount it. The nearest building is the chapel of the convent, the farther one is the mosque. In the distance of the design is seen the chapel of Elias in ruins, and in the foreground the fountain and the cypress, which give some degree of animation to these rocks, whose grandeur is entirely lost by being compressed within so limited a space. The superior of the Franciscans found two cypresses and three olive trees in this place, but the cypress alone still survives.

We climbed with difficulty to the top of Sinai,

resting at each cleft or salient part of the rock to which some traditions have been annexed by the inventive faculty of the monks, who have communicated them to the Arabs, always ready to listen to narratives of this description. Arrived on the summit, I was surprized by the briskness of the air. The eye sought in vain to catch some prominent object amid the chaos of rocks which were tumbled round the base, and vanished in the distance in the form of raging waves.[a] Nevertheless, I distinguished the Red Sea, the mountains of Africa, and some summits of mountains which I easily recognised by their shapes. — Schommar being distinguishable by its rounded masses, Serbal by its

[a] "If I had to represent the end of the world, I would model it from Mount Sinai. —

"It was late when we reached the convent, and as there is no door to beat at, no bell, nor bugle, we aroused the warden by strength of lungs: he answered from above, and demanded our credentials; for it is necessary to come recommended by the Greek Patriarch to the 'fatherly care' of the superior. A string was thrown, to which I tied my letter of introduction; after some consultation a rope was let down, with a *noose* to it. In this I was desired to fix myself, and in this position was wound up into the convent. Ere I was yet freed from the *noose*, the superior commenced his 'fatherly care,' and hugged me tightly in his arms. I was only released from this second unpleasant situation, to find myself surrounded by the rest of the fraternity: fortunately they gave me no proof of violent affection, and indeed some doubts had arisen as to my being an Englishman; my dress and beard were thoroughly Turkish, and my face had been well ripened by the sun. One of my servants was by this time warehoused, and he succeeded in removing their suspicions. 'O Milordos,' straight resounded from every mouth, and the patience τοῦ Μιλορδου had nearly evaporated in answering questions concerning England and the 'Prinshipos Regentos,' when it was happily conceived that it might be agreeable τῷ Μιλόρδῳ to retire: he was accordingly conducted to a room, on the door of which is written, εἰς δόξαν τοῖς προσερχομένοις. — *Henniker*, pp. 225, 226.

shooting points, and Tih by its immense prolongation.

I visited the ruins of the mosque [a] and of the Christian church, both of which rebuke, on this grand theatre of the three religions that divide the world, the indifference of mankind to the creeds which they once professed with so much ardour.

In the time of Frescobaldi (1384) the chapel was embellished with paintings and closed by an iron door; when Peter Belon visited it in 1550, and subsequently Pölschitz in 1598, the door was still in existence; but the pilgrims had already covered the walls with their names and those reflections which travellers are every where accustomed to

[a] "The second day was entirely taken up in performing a pilgrim's duty on Mount Sinai: the ascent alone is calculated at fifty thousand steps, and I found it a labour of two hours, stoppages not included. A papa, well versed in holy legends, was my cicerone; we left the convent at eight in the morning, and returned about seven P. M. The first object at which we halted is a small chapel.—We next stopped at a portal where it was once customary for the pilgrim to confess his sins. Our next objects are a large cypress tree, and a spring of beautiful water; beyond this is a chapel, erected on the spot where Elias was fed by the raven; higher yet is the signal stand, whence Moses surveyed the fight between Joshua and Amalec; and we now arrive at the top of the mountain. —

"On the very summit are two dilapidated chapels; on one side rises the rock of St. Catherine, more lofty and more picturesque than that of Sinai, but all the rest is a sea of desolation. It would seem as if Arabia Petræa had once been an ocean of lava, and that while its waves were running literally mountains high, it was commanded suddenly to stand still.—

"We next came to 'the stone of Moses:' it is said to be one of those two from which, on being struck by the same rod that dried up the sea, gushed forth water: it is an irregular block of granite, in height about twelve feet, in length fifteen; and in width seven; a kind of water furrow, about eight inches in width, is visible on two of its sides."—*Henniker*, pp. 233—236.

leave behind them. In 1610 Sandys found it deserted and in ruins.

Descending by the ravine which separates Sinai from Mount St. Catharine, we found, amidst numerous traces of the veneration formerly paid to all these places, the stone from which Moses caused water to spring forth by the command of God.

STONE OF MOSES.

"And all the congregation of the children of Israel journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, after their journeys, according to the commandment of the Lord, and pitched in Rephidim: and there was no water for the people to drink.

"Wherefore the people did chide with Moses, and said, Give us water that we may drink. And Moses said unto them, Why chide ye with me? wherefore do ye tempt the Lord?

"And the people thirsted there for water; and

the people murmured against Moses, and said, Wherefore is this that thou hast brought us out of Egypt, to kill us, and our children, and our cattle, with thirst?

"And Moses cried unto the Lord, saying, What shall I do unto this people? They be almost ready to stone me.

"And the Lord said unto Moses, Go on before the people, and take with thee of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go.

"Behold, I will stand before thee there, upon THE ROCK in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel."[a]

On returning to Cairo I took a different route from that which I had followed when going to Akaba. I visited Djebel Serbal, a lofty mountain of granite, which conceals in its deep valleys many ruins of convents, deserted gardens, and staircases constructed with wondrous perseverance, in order to afford to the pilgrim every means for facilitating his pious enterprise.

This ravine, placed out of the course usually taken by travellers and pilgrims, has necessarily escaped their examination. It deserves, however, to be visited, even at the risk of all the fatigue with which such a journey would be attended, although the traveller had no other object in view than to

[a] Exodus, xvii. 1—6.

admire those magnificent rocks, the profound silence that reigns amongst them, and the ruins of those modest hermitages which remind us of the ages when religious enthusiasm led pilgrims far from their native land, and a pious resignation taught them to live happily, or at least tranquilly, in the midst of this vast solitude.

We perceived no tent any where, nor even one of those small black goats which are met so often in the Wadys, bounding over the rose-coloured rocks of granite. But the eye of a hunter is not to be deceived. Hussein, pressing his hand on my head, made me lie down on the ground. I acquiesced immediately, not knowing by what danger we were threatened. He had discovered at the bottom of the ravine a whole herd of gazelles: he was breathless while he gave me this information, and then hastening to take off his clothes, his cloak, shirt, and cap all being flung on the earth, his pouch on his naked breast, and his gun on his shoulder, he went towards them, pointing me out a spot whence I might discern the game without being seen, and enjoining me to rise without delay and set up a loud shout if the gazelles should endeavour to escape on my side. Behold me, then, crouching on the earth, pre-occupied though I was with all the sublime recollections attached to the place, and now reduced to play the part of a mere gamekeeper to an ignorant Bedouin. In truth, it became necessary for us to obtain in this way our dinner for the day: we had no chance of any other.

The gazelles were passing at the bottom of the

ravine near a stream, gathered round the leader of the herd, who, with lifted head and nose in air, seemed rather to attend to the duties of a sentinel, than to think of finding food. Strong in form, the head being surmounted by long horns, turned back and notched by numerous rings, these inhabitants of the mountains impart to the whole of this wild country a kind of animation which well associates with its character. My eyes followed the long and cunning detours of Hussein on the other side, who descended to the bottom of the ravine, taking advantage of every rock to conceal himself, and of each cleft to get nearer to his prey. His body shining in the distance, as he bent it to avoid detection, looked like a serpent coiled up; and the whole picture was highly improved by this exertion of human skill to overreach the natural sagacity of wild beasts.

At the first discharge the whole herd was put to flight; they bounded over rocks and cleared precipices; the Arab was instantly after them, following in the same paths, daring the same dangers. A second discharge took place, and the echoes reached me with the hunter's shout of exultation; he had hit his victim.

Taking Hussein's apparel on my shoulders, I went down to the bottom of the ravine, following the direction of his voice, which summoned me to assist him in extricating the game from the steep side of a rock, whence it threatened to fall into a deep gulf. My Arab had taken his aim with wonderful accuracy, the two balls having entered the belly of the

animal within three inches of each other. We took possession of our game, which I carefully wrapped up in my cloak. Half an hour sufficed to cut up the gazelle and put up the limbs in its own skin. The liver and the heart roasted on some lighted brambles served for our supper; and a projecting rock, near a spring, afforded us protection for the night.

After having spent two days with Hussein in this surprising mountain, I rejoined my dragoman and guides, bringing back, together with my notes and drawings, the young of the female which Hussein had killed. I intended to rear it; but, before I could find a goat to feed it, it died.

We descended by Wady Cheick, which here takes the name of Feiran, and exhibits amid its exuberantly fertile tracts the ruins of an ancient town frequently mentioned in history. We proceeded through the continued channel formed by the valley, which serves as a drain for all the waters of Serbal and the mountains to the north, to the distance of more than twelve leagues. We eventually arrived at an angle, where we quitted this valley and entered Wady Mokatteb. A narrow prolongation of rocks, slightly elevated here, is the only separation between these two declivities, which unite again at a short distance, and pour their waters in a single current into the gulf of Suez. Wady Mokatteb has acquired some celebrity from its inscriptions, which, for more than a century, have attracted the attention of travellers.

Wady Mokatteb, a continuation of several ra-

vines, the most remarkable of which is Wady Magara, is not like the valleys of Cheick, Feiran, Zackal, and those generally of the peninsula. Its bed is hollowed out in rocks of freestone, which extend at the feet of high mountains of granite. The effect of the running waters, as well as of the humidity of the atmosphere, is to undermine at the base these crumbly rocks; having then no support, they fall away, and leave behind them a soft and uniform surface. The first aspect of this conformation is striking, and it accounts for the great number of inscriptions which are found in this Wady, while in others they are to be discovered very rarely scattered here and there.

The rocks were undermined at the base, when one of those earthquakes, of which evident traces remain, disturbed them with sufficient violence to cause the whole of the covering so unsupported to fall to pieces. The walls of the valley then appeared such as they are at the present day, uniform throughout their whole extent, and defended at bottom by the masses which were detached from them. Pilgrims passed, and found those immense pages too inviting not to multiply upon them their names, their wishes, and the usual exclamations of travellers. The rocks, not having been at that time hardened by the air, easily received those detached phrases.

The earliest information which we have concerning the Sinaite inscriptions was given by Cosmas[a],

[a] Topographia Christiana, edit. Montfaucon.

Belon[a], Neitzchitz[b], Monconys[c], and Kirscha[d], who explains, with more boldness than success, the details of Tomaso da Novara. The information collected by these writers excited, however, little interest, as it referred only to the few inscriptions which are found in each valley of the peninsula, especially in the environs of Sinai. In 1722, the superior of the Franciscans, in returning from the convent which he had visited with several other ecclesiastics, passed by Wady Mokatteb. Great was his astonishment on beholding the two fronts of the rocks covered with inscriptions to the length of an entire league: he thus expressed himself concerning them: —

"These mountains are called Gebel el Mokatteb, that is to say, the Written Mountains. For, as soon as we quitted the mountains of Faran, we passed along others, during a whole hour, which were covered with inscriptions in an unknown character, and carved in these hard rocks of marble to a height which, in some places, was from ten to twelve feet above the surface of the ground. And, although we had amongst us men who understood the Arabian, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic, Latin, Armenian, Turkish, English, Illyrian, German, and Bohemian languages, there was not one of us who had the slightest knowledge of the characters engraved in these hard rocks with great labour, in a country where there is nothing to be had either to eat or

[a] Liv. ii. c. lxix. p. 294.
[b] Contemplation du Monde, pp. 145. 149. 153. 158. 167.
[c] P., 449.
[d] Œdip. Egypt., c. ii. p. 120.

drink. Hence it is probable that these characters contain some profound secrets, which, long before the birth of Jesus Christ, were sculptured in these rocks by the Chaldeans or some other persons."

This description, erroneous only as to the nature of the rock, which is, in fact, of crumbly free-stone, and not of the hardest marble, attracted great attention in an age when every thing connected with the Scriptures possessed a lively interest. The Bishop of Clogher, Robert Clayton, offered a considerable sum of money to any person who would proceed to the spot and bring back a copy of the inscriptions, which, in his opinion, must have been nothing less than Israelite, and calculated, as a German author expressed it at the time, "to seal for ever the mouths of rash commentators."

Pococke, and after him Montagu, brought over some copies of these Sinaite inscriptions, but the information they gave about them was unsatisfactory. In 1762, Niebuhr, who was sent by the King of Denmark to explore Arabia, but especially with a view to copy the inscriptions of Wady Mokatteb, brought back a copy of some inscriptions in similar characters which he found in the neighbourhood of Sinai. Forty years later, Messrs. Coutelle and Roziere copied seventy-five of them.[a] From 1808 to 1820 Seetzen, Burckhardt, and Henniker formed successively descriptions of the valley and copies of the inscriptions. Finally, Mr. Grey pub-

[a] Antiquities, vol. v. p. 57.

lished* a hundred and eighty-seven inscriptions, which he copied, in 1820, in Wady Mokatteb and its environs. Of this number nine are Greek and one Latin.

Rather scratched than graven, these inscriptions come out clearly on the red ground of the rock; and the irregularity of the lines betrays the unskilfulness of the persons who confided their story to the custody of these rocks.

Several learned philologists have endeavoured ineffectually to translate the Sinaite inscriptions. Before they can all be deciphered, greater progress than has yet been attained must be made in paleography and the ancient languages of the East. The most general opinion, however, is, that they were the work of pilgrims who visited Sinai about the sixth century.

The figures of men and animals, which accompany the characters, are partly of the same date with the original inscriptions; others appear to be of our own age. They all indicate the infancy of the art, if, indeed, there be any thing in them resembling that which we call art. In this country the first essays and the decline in the art of design seem to coincide without having any stage between them. The Bedouin, while watching his camels, will now draw men and animals just as his ancestors drew them in the most remote times. Captain Tuckey, during his voyage on the river Zaire, commonly called the Congo, found below *Lombe* modern

* Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. ii. part vi. 1832.

sculptures on the rocks resembling the earliest of the characters seen in the peninsula of Sinai.

My view of Wady Mokatteb is the first that has been made of it: it is taken from the south-east; the caravan which is seen in the distance is approaching from Suez by Wady Taibé and the coast.

WADY MOKATTEB.

Ascending by the course of Wady Mokatteb we entered a framework of rocks: a wady which discharges its waters there is called Magara. This valley, of which I have spoken before, when describing Sarbout el Cadem, has been worked, as well as the mountain, for the purpose of extracting

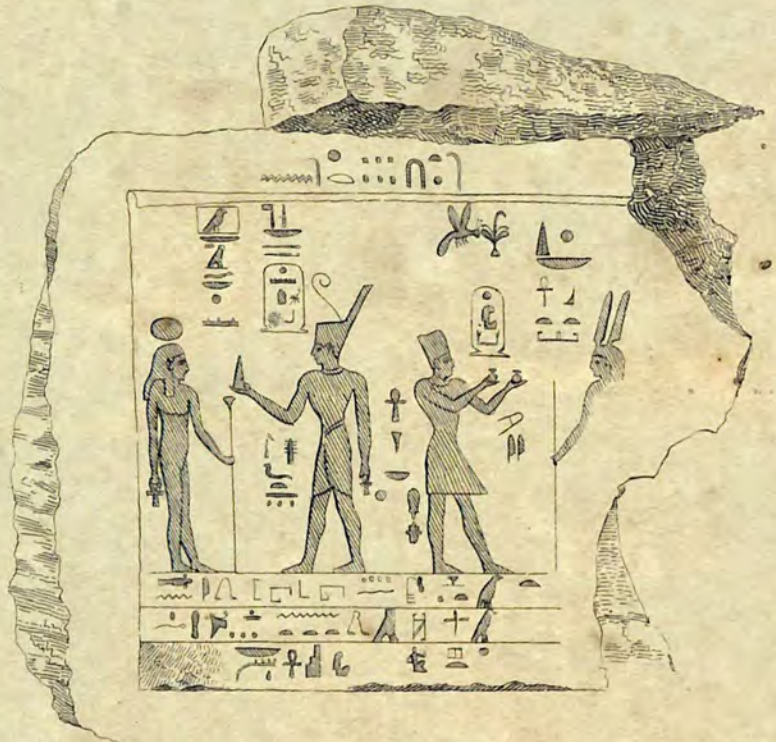
from it the copper found in the freestone rocks. A large subterraneous series of pillars formed in the rock, and now incumbered by the rushing in of the rains, and of the sand which has there found refuge, still exhibits traces of the labours formerly prosecuted in that direction.

The objects which would be here most interesting, if the origin of the establishment were once made out, would be the large hieroglyphic tablets which the workmen, either for amusement, or to record the death of their superintendents, in some remarkable events, have wrought in strong relief on the walls of the rock.

My caravan stopped in a small plain near the sea, where it is said to have been passed by the Israelites. We then ascended Wady Taibé, and, passing near the Mara of Scripture, we traversed the great plain which occupied the Hebrews the three first days of their journey. Suez lay in front; a bark came for us, and the breeze bore us rapidly to the African coast. Peter Belon describes this short passage with great simplicity: — "The Red Sea is nothing but a narrow canal, not wider than the Seine between Harfleur and Honfleur. It is navigated with difficulty and danger, for there are many rocks in it." [a]

The distance from Suez to Cairo is estimated at thirty-two leagues. My camel carried me over it in seventeen hours. Hussein alone accompanied me; and, in order to occupy me during a journey

[a] Livre des Singularités, &c. liv. ii. c. lviii. p. 276.



OUADI MAGARA.

TEL EL MASROUTA.

on which I abstained from taking any notes, as it had been so often and so well described, my guide related to me several anecdotes about his own country. The most interesting of these was an account of an attack upon the caravan of Mecca some years before, when it was plundered. Hussein, who took an active part in the affair, became highly animated while he described it to me. An act of injustice committed by the Pacha of Egypt, who wished to have his fellahs employed in the transport of the merchandise belonging to the caravan, and thus to deprive the Tohrats of a privilege sanctioned by long usage, was, according to his report, the only cause which led to this deed of violence. Every thing was taken possession of, and the loaded camels discharged in the wadys of their mountain the merchandise that was in vain expected at Cairo. "Night and day we were drinking coffee," said my guide: "it was nothing but dancing and jollity all the time under our tents." But the Pacha soon after sent out his troops to avenge the insult: to these revels succeeded battles and a disastrous war, for the Thyats could not ally themselves to the cause of their neighbours; and the poor Tohrats, overwhelmed by numbers, surprised and surrounded in their valleys, were forced to consent to the most severe conditions.

As soon as I arrived at Cairo, I scarcely gave myself time to rest: knowing that my letters were kept for me at Alexandria, I set out for that city with my Arabs and dromedaries. There, in

that great counting house for the merchandise of Europe, I became acquainted with all the late political events, of which one never hears in the desert. I then returned to Cairo in thirty-four hours, at a continued trot of my great animals, and was enabled to give, in that city, intelligence of persons whom I had seen the evening before in the other.

In making this rapid journey, I traversed Lower Egypt, following the borders of the desert, which every day makes greater inroads on the soil fit for cultivation. In this miraculous country incessant labour is absolutely requisite to preserve its fertility, to take advantage of its waters, and to resist that continued invasion of the sand which has already recovered the half of ancient Egypt.

But the regeneration attempted to be produced in this country has unpeopled its villages, and decimated its fields; and Egypt, even amid its riches and glory, sends forth a cry of grief. It seems to comprehend the terrible words of the prophet: — "I shall spread terror over all the land, and shall deliver its fields into the hands of the most wicked of men, and the land of Egypt shall become a desert and a desolation." The first of these prophecies is accomplished: can the other be prevented from taking place? Shall a better government restore peace and prosperity to its miserable population?

Such, at least, would be the ardent wish of all those who, for some years past, have visited the banks of the Nile, under the protection which is

PUNISHING OF A SLAVE.

now every where extended to strangers, in a land formerly so inhospitable. Indeed, how is it possible not to admire the Pacha of Egypt, a man who, from being a private soldier, raised himself to a throne with so much dexterity, and preserves it with so much wisdom! The traveller is astonished by the numberless innovations which have been introduced into that country within so short an interval, and which appeared, the moment before they were established, to be so incompatible with the inveterate indolence of the people. At the same time we cannot be insensible to the cries of suffering raised by the children, women, and old blind men and cripples, who are condemned, under the terrors of the club, to the severest labour, without being implicated in any crime, save that of having been born in this land of oppression. It were much to be desired, that Mehemet Ali should cease to pursue this species of tyranny, and that, for his own reputation, he should consent to be less powerful, in order that he might be more beloved. The aspirations of gratitude, sent forth by a happy people, are heard at a much greater distance than the hurrahs of a conquering army.

But it became at length necessary that I should separate myself from my Tohrats; these excellent men, who, during my long journey, had conducted themselves towards me with the greatest assiduity and kindness. Hussein particularly seemed attached to me: the mere creature of his feelings, he wept on leaving me, and made me promise that I would again come to eat his dates and drink his milk under his tent. He said, that God was great, that, perhaps, some day I might be unfortunate, and an exile from my country, and that then I should remember Hussein: he added, that he would always have for me, in the Wady, a tent to sleep in, goats to supply me with food, and dromedaries to take me to see the *old stones*.

CHAPTER XV.

CONSTRUCTION OF ARABIA PETRÆA. — SODOM AND GOMORRAH. — WADY ARABA. — THE RED SEA. — ANCIENT NAMES OF THE RED SEA. — ORIGIN OF THE EPITHET "RED." — THE TWO GULFS. — THE ANCIENT TRIBES. — THE NABATHEANS. — THE SARACENS. — EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE NABATHEANS. — THEIR ORGANISATION. — ROMAN PROVINCE. — EARLY PILGRIMAGES.

THE singular construction of Arabia Petræa renders a description of it difficult, even to him who has drawn up the maps by which this volume is accompanied. Mount Libanus, after having exhibited its bold peaks, crowned with snow, to the plains of Homs and Hama, divides itself into two branches, one of which is called Libanus, the other anti-Libanus. These two great branches extend themselves towards the south, allowing the Nahar-el-Casmá to run between them, and farther on the Jordan, to which they give a continued direction, not only through the lake of Tiberias[a], and as far as the Dead Sea, which now interrupts its course, but also in a straight line in the midst of Wady Araba, which stretches as far as the Red Sea, and bears evident traces of having been anciently the bed of a river.

[a] Benjamin of Tudela considered, and justly, the lake of Tiberias as a part of the Jordan, which was simply enlarged at that place.

This valley of the Jordan, Wady Araba, which was for a long time unknown, though discovered again by Burckhardt, who traversed it to some extent, has never been fully explored by any European traveller. I have described its direction and appearance to a distance of about twenty-two leagues, and no doubt can now remain, I imagine, that at a remote period the Jordan flowed through it to the sea. This opinion harmonises perfectly with the account we have in Genesis, of the interruption of the course of the river.

"And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every where, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar."[a]

"And the vale of Siddim was full of slime pits."[b]

"Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven:

"And he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground."[c]

"And Abraham gat up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the Lord;

"And he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, and beheld, and, lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace."[d]

[a] Genesis, xiii. 10.
[b] Ib. xiv. 10.
[c] Ib. xix. 24, 25.
[d] Ib. 27, 28.

This simple and concise narrative gives a sufficient idea of a volcanic eruption; indeed, I entertained no doubt on the subject, when the effects of that eruption were before my eyes. Lot beheld the plain of Sittim watered by the Jordan, as Egypt was watered by the Nile; and after the punishment was inflicted by the Lord, the earth lost its verdure, and there arose from the plain "a smoke like that of a furnace."

Without discussing the different opinions of authors, some of whom hold that, in the course of nature, others that, through the indignation of the Omnipotent, the slime pits were ignited, which are mentioned in Genesis, xiv. 10., it appears evident, that they were the origin of the volcano which destroyed the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the plain between them; and that they formed, by the irruption of volcanic matter, a large basin into which the Jordan precipitates itself, thus ceasing its course towards the Red Sea.[a] This basin, which, somewhat later, was called the Asphaltic Lake, and the Dead Sea, would, in fact, at first, on receiving the waters of the Jordan, have exhaled a smoke *not unlike that of a furnace.* Afterwards, subterraneous drains, as well as a

[a] The Koran places Sodom on the highway. "Sodom," says Mahomet, "was situated, before its destruction, on the highway;" and farther on, speaking of Aila also, he says, "these two cities were on the public way." Koran, Hedgr. cap. xv. Although this work is not of very high antiquity, nevertheless it cannot be doubted that the prophet was particularly careful in collecting the ancient traditions of the country: these are in unison with the character of the valley, the borders of which were traversed by the great road.

considerable evaporation always going on, have prevented this species of tunnel from overflowing.

Wady Araba, since it has been deserted by the river, has become encumbered in some parts with heaps of sand; but enclosed as it is between mountains of granite and porphyry, there can be no doubt as to its natural and ancient direction. It is bordered on both sides by the prolongations of Libanus; on the west, the mountain, which is here composed of chalk and limestone, pretty regular in its form, rises in a tabled shape to a level with the desert of Tih, which commands a great part of the valley. On the east, to the contrary, high rocks of granite, fractured into a thousand forms, extend from north to south, and exhibit a chain of from ten to twelve leagues in width, which separates Arabia Petræa from the great desert of sand. These rocks of granitic composition occupy, from Akaba as far almost as Wady Garandel, a space of about ten leagues; they are then covered with chalk and limestone, which extend five leagues to the north and north-east, and then disappear amidst rocks of sand stone, veined with oxyde of iron, and presenting more fantastic shapes than any other part of the mountain. The most eastern continuation of this chain, which is clothed with vegetable earth, is characterised by a regular, firm, and an unbroken course. It appears but slightly elevated when seen from the east, but it declines rapidly towards the west, evidently proving the elevation of the level of the plain above the bed of Wady Araba.

All this part of the mountain, the only tract covered with earth, bears every mark of ancient cultivation. Stones, which have been arranged to mark the limits of fields, as well as the ruins of separate habitations and villages scattered every where over this elevated country, still attest the industry of its former inhabitants in cultivating an apparently unfriendly soil, but which, nevertheless, offered many advantages on account of the security it derived from its proximity to the capital.

The Red Sea, or Arabic Gulf, extends between Africa and Asia, or, more precisely speaking, between Egypt and Arabia, to a distance of eight hundred leagues, while in breadth it seldom exceeds sixty. Narrowed at the southern extremity to the strait of Babel Mandel (Palindromos extrema), it looks like a lake sprinkled with islets, and hemmed in on all sides by lofty rocks. Its present limits do not coincide with those which it appears to have had in ancient times; for the ruins of towns may still be seen, at a distance from the coast, which were in the early ages undoubtedly on the edge of the sea. Moreover the shallowness of those harbours now, which anciently admitted vessels of double the tonnage to anchor in them, shows that the invasion of the sands, so obvious in Egypt, has also extended itself to these shores. The levels taken through the country between Suez and Pelusium (Tineh on the Nile) give a depth of twenty-four feet below the levels of the two seas; and the marshes and flats situated in that region, the absence of mountains and the con-

stant increase of the Delta, indicate, without pushing conjecture too far, that Africa was formerly separated from Asia by the union of the Gulf of Suez with the Mediterranean, and that the present peninsula of Sinai was then an island, in consequence of the Jordan preserving its course to the Gulf of Akaba. The origin of two such deep gulfs as those of Akaba and Suez cannot be accounted for, unless one of them served to receive a river, the other to join the two seas.

As far back as ancient records reach, we find this sea called, by Moses, *Jam Suph*, the Sea of Rushes. This appellation is hardly justified by the few rushes which are found near some springs on the western coast: it might, perhaps, be more accurately referred to the quantity of corals which appear on its banks, and which at low water are on a level with the sea. Rosenmuller shows very clearly, in his Biblischen Altherthümer, that *Jam Suph* has been inaccurately translated "the Sea of Rushes," and that it ought to be called rather the sea of "Madrepores," which occupy the bottom. Giovanni Finati, speaking of his voyage on the Red Sea, says, "that the weather was so calm, and the water so transparent, that he amused himself by observing the peculiarity of the depths beneath him, where weeds and corals grow to such a size, and so disposed, as almost to have the appearance of groves and gardens."

The Greek authors make no mention of this name: they call it the Erythræan or Red Sea, a name, the origin of which is to be found, it is said,

in the history of Perseus, or Erythras, who set out in search of his horses, which a lioness had put to flight, in an island at a short distance from the coast. This tradition, however, more properly belongs to the Persian Gulf, to which, in fact, it gave the name, and can have no relation to the Arabian Gulf, as Herodotus justly remarks. For the rest it is not difficult to conclude, that the Greeks called this sea the Red Sea for a much more simple reason, which has been alluded to by several ancient as well as modern travellers, namely, the colour of the mountains which from the summit of Ammam Pharaoh to the end of the Elanitic Gulf, and also on the Egyptian coast, are formed of rose-coloured granite, of porphyry, and frequently of sandstone veined with oxyde of iron, which looks a deep red. To these features may be added the circumstance, that the bottom is composed of a mass of corals, which, being often detached from the rocks and thrown up on the beach, may have attracted the attention of the Greeks. The atmosphere, also, in that country, assumes, above the mountains, a rosy hue, which is reflected by the sea. The whole of this appearance is the more striking, inasmuch as in so arid a region no considerable mass is observable which disturbs the general uniformity of colour.

Divided at the northern extremity into two gulfs by the chain of mountains which descends from Syria, each has received at different periods names varying very much according to the fortunes of the ports which have formed their most

prominent distinction. That which we now call the Gulf of Suez was, under the Greeks and Romans, called the Heroopolite Gulf from the city of Heroopolis. This name was exchanged by the Arabs for that of Kolzum, from Bahar Kolzum, a town the ruins of which may still be seen to the north of Suez. After that town was abandoned, in consequence, apparently, of its harbour being choked with sand, Suez was constructed on a tongue of land which served as a mole to the former town, and the gulf then took the name which it still preserves. The Gulf of Akaba was called by the Greeks the Elanitic Gulf, and also by Diodorus and Pliny the Leanitic Gulf, from the town of Ela or Aila, which occupies its northern point. This town was succeeded by the fortress of Akaba, and the gulf accordingly took the name of Bahar el Akaba.

No people can boast of possessing such precise accounts with repect to their ancestors as those which the inhabitants of Arabia Petræa find in Genesis and the other books of Moses. Their origin, the boundaries of their territories, their manners, customs, and respective power, are ascertained in those records at an epoch which dates two thousand years before the commencement of our era.[a]

Soon after their departure from Egypt, the Israelites being assembled at Raphidim, not far

[a] See, as to the origin of the Arabs, Bochart, Geographia sacra; Mannert, Geographie der Griechen und Rama, and Birsching Erdbescheibung.

from Sinai, were attacked by the Amalekites. This warlike tribe, like all nomade communities, required extensive tracts for their flocks and herds, more especially as the greater part of that country is sandy and barren. Their territory extended between Egypt, the Mediterranean, the Asphaltic Lake, Wady Araba, and a line drawn from Akaba to Suez. Their country being thus situated on the road from Egypt to the Land of Promise was a circumstance that greatly influenced Moses in the choice which he made of his route towards Sinai. On the other side of Wady Araba, *the plain of Elath* and of *Ezion Gaber*, also *the road of the Red Sea*, was in the possession of the Edomites who dwelt in the mountains of Seir. We meet in almost every chapter of the Bible passages which refer to the singular elevation of that territory, and at the same time to the facilities that exist for defending its approaches. It stretches from Wady Garandel as far as the torrent of Zared, Non-el-Ascha. Upon this territory bordered that of the Moabites, the descendants of Moab, the sons of Lot and his eldest daughter, from Zoara or Zared, near the sea, as far as the river Arnon. It was natural that the ancient inhabitants of the fertile valley of the Jordan should, after its desolation, have sought refuge in the surrounding countries. More to the north, following the coast of the Asphaltic Lake, were the Ammonites, and, finally, bordering on these tribes were the Midianites, spreading over several districts in various localities. They are found at first in the neighbourhood of

Sinai, at the time when Moses went to pasture the flocks of his father-in-law; they appear also to the south of the Moabites, where their power became so great that they entered Judea, and exacted a tribute from its inhabitants; their establishment may also be traced as far as the eastern bank of the Elanitic Gulf. In the same manner, even at the present day, some considerable tribes, whether in consequence of divisions in the succession of the authority of the Sheick, or by reason of scarcity of food in the country, have separated and dwell at great distances from each other, alien tribes being interposed between them. But they preserve their name and their alliances, which secure to them the rights of hospitality.

All these names were confounded at a later period in that of the Nabatheans; at least this was the only name known to the Greek authors, although the Midianites are occasionally referred to as conducting caravans with them. The Nabatheans, of whose progress in science and civilisation at a remote period the Arabian authors frequently boast, and whose language, if those writers are to be believed, was coëval with the world itself, formed a tribe which remained almost unknown until the period when, either by the extension of their commerce, or a succession of events of which no record remains, they acquired sufficient importance to enable them at first to protect, and then to form into one body, the other smaller communities. From that moment they became the principal inhabitants of Arabia Petræa: they had,

on the east, the Scenite Arabs who, as Strabo informs us, occupied the most sterile and distant of the mountains, over-ran Arabia Deserta, lived by plunder, and frequently changed their abode. On the west, their neighbours were the pauper tribes who dwelt amongst the sands and rocks of the desert, and whose name (Σαρακηνη)[a], which Ptolemy has given them, indicates their ordinary habits; but the Nabatheans were considered the sole masters of the country.

Two enterprises which were undertaken against their possessions at two different periods, separated by an interval of three hundred and fifty years from each other, enable us to form some idea of their organisation and industry. The first, which occurred under the reign of Antigonus, was conducted by his general Atheneus, probably at the instigation of the Phenicians, who could not forgive them their rivalry in commerce. This expedition was renewed by his son Demetrius. Both exhibit the condition of that nomade people three hundred and ten years before Christ, already, how-

[a] These Σαρακηνη, the origin of the word Saracens, which was used throughout all Christendom down to the seventeenth century, to designate the Arabs, and all those, in fact, who were not Christians, consisted of several poor tribes who occupied the territory of the Tohrats and Thyats. The barrenness of their own country explains their disposition to pillage. It is probable that they served at first as assistants in conducting caravans of merchandise; that at a later period they furnished charcoal to the Egyptians, for the purpose of working their copper mines, and that eventually they became the guides of the hermits and pilgrims who began, in the primitive ages of the church, to visit and inhabit those desolate districts.

ever, possessing a city which for many years served as a place of refuge for themselves, and as an entrepôt for their merchandise. Their resistance in a spot fortified by nature, their rapid and well combined attacks against the camp of Atheneus, and their presents and hostages, which were sent on the conclusion of peace, show that they were an independent and courageous race, and at the same time long accustomed to the benefits of organisation. It is difficult, however, to judge of a people by the narrative of a historian who knew nothing of them except from information furnished by their enemies — by enemies, too, whom they had conquered.

The second expedition was that of Ælius Gallus, who was sent by Augustus to pillage the country. It would be difficult to conceive the possibility of this being the only motive, if we had not seen the same attraction operating in modern times. Be this as it may, the expedition sheds some light on the condition of the country at that period. Although the information thus collected is valuable, it is nevertheless astonishing, that an army which remained there almost a year, and traversed so much of the country, should have left so much uncertainty as to the situation of its towns and the social state of its inhabitants. The caliphs, whenever they made conquests, specially instructed their generals to send home descriptions of the territory of which they took possession: that was a civilised idea; but the enterprise of Ælius Gallus had no other object in view than that of depriving of

their property a people who were reputed to abound in opulence.

At that period, however, as well as at the present day, the country in question was inhabited partly by nomade, partly by sedentary, tribes who were established in towns. These towns were administered by a regular government, and Petra, their capital, had a king, and a minister, whose duty it was to furnish cavalry troops when required[a]; in short, the whole of their power reposed on a system of organisation to which they had been long habituated.

The nomade races, however, frequently showed in those early times as well as at the present day a spirit of individual independence, submitting or not submitting to a paramount power according to circumstances. Aretas, for example, though the kinsman of Obodas, and a Nabathean, attempted to free himself from the sovereign authority, and joined the Romans to avenge himself. But at the very time when he was making use of their troops he took care to lead them through all sorts of bye-paths, in order that they should not discover or interrupt the commercial routes. He preferred his interest to all other considerations.

[a] The cavalry of the Nabatheans is mentioned by Diodorus, when speaking of the expedition of Atheneus. It was also known to the Romans. Hirtius Pausa, *de Bello Alexandrino*, speaks of King Malco, to whom Julius Cæsar sent for troops of cavalry to assist him against the Egyptians. The horses upon which these troops were mounted came from their eastern provinces, by way of tribute, probably from the Scenite Arabs.

This organisation of a people in the midst of the desert, without any connection with the rest of the civilised world, is a very remarkable circumstance, and gives us a higher idea of what the Phenicians had indeed previously been. They were distinguished by the same peculiarity of industry, the same spirit of enterprise. But the Nabatheans excelled their rivals in this, that they were more firmly constituted as a community, the result of which was, that their merchant chief became a warrior king, ruling over an extensive country, which retained its freedom and independence amidst the revolutions of surrounding empires, and frequently even causing his power to be felt by the races in the neighbourhood of his sovereignty.

Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo, give us now and then glimpses of the manners of the Nabatheans, which present a striking analogy to those of the nomade communities of our day, and form, together with the narratives in Genesis and the prophets, a series of pictures of patriarchal life, which was the same for forty centuries, and remains the same even to this hour.

Under the reign of Trajan, in the year 105, Arabia Petræa became a Roman province, Petra being the capital of this new conquest. Many Romans settled there, and doubtless effected some alterations in the manners of the inhabitants. But the rural tribes underwent no change; and when commerce disappeared from these countries, and with it departed the opulent inhabitants who had

animated by their presence the magnificent edifices which their sumptuous taste had raised,—those edifices, now every where in ruin,—the rural tribes returned without any reluctance to a purely nomade existence, mingling without any sense of transition with the Arabs who had never abandoned that kind of life. The change in the social constitution of the country, however, brought with it some variations in their habits; they plundered where before they trafficked; they traversed the desert as bands of wanderers, not as those lengthened lines of peaceable caravans which had for so many ages given life to the wilderness.

From that moment, Bostra became the capital of the province, or rather, of the Roman prefecture, called Palestina Tertia, the existence of which, however, we can no longer trace except through the operations of some Roman legions, and the routes which appear in the itineraries. But one source of new information concerning that country arose at that period in the accounts of the pilgrimages and sufferings of pious anchorites who visited the peninsula of Sinai. In these narratives the inhabitants are represented to us sometimes under the most gloomy colours, sometimes under a pacific aspect. These variances may be explained by the errant character of their existence, as well as by the uncertainty of their religious ideas, which fluctuated between ancient modes of belief and the impressions of a religion of simplicity and resignation. It is about this period that we read especially of numerous con-

versions to Christianity, and of whole tribes having placed themselves under the protection of the cross.

It was in this situation that Islamism found them. There is nothing to indicate that when in the course of its fanatical flight it lighted upon Egypt and Syria, Palestina Tertia was much thought of, still less the Nabatheans, who, having for a long period represented a rich and powerful people, had become already confounded with the nomade races. From that period the name of Arab alone has been used to designate the inhabitants of these deserts, who, however differently they may have been named, resemble in manners all those that have preceded them. Their successors will most probably never differ from them in any material respect.

CHAPTER XVI.

PHENICIAN COMMERCE. — ORIGIN OF TRADE. — BUILDING OF TOWNS. — TRADE OF THE ARABIANS. — THE MIDIANITES. — PROGRESS OF PHENICIAN TRADE. — SIDON. — PHENICIAN CIVILISATION. — PROPOSALS TO KING DAVID. — GOLD OF OPHIR. — HURAM AND SOLOMON. — TRADE OF THE RED SEA. — SOLOMON'S EXPEDITION. — OPHIR AND TARSHISH. — EXPEDITION OF JEHOSHAPHAT.

At the present day two tribes occupy the whole of the desert comprised between Egypt, Gaza, the Red Sea, Wady Araba, and Akaba. To the north, in the territory of the Amalekites, are the Tyhats; to the south, in that of the Midianites of Jethro, are the Tohrats. These two names are derived from the principal mountains in their respective countries. On the other side of Wady Araba, and within the limits assigned to Arabia Petræa, are the Benisackers, the Alaouins, and the Amrans. More to the west, and bordering on these, but living in Arabia Deserta, are the Anezehs. These six great tribes, united or divided by their interests according to circumstances, have established amongst themselves political relations and alliances which are observed with great fidelity.

From those notions which are the natural result of our civilised state, we are usually inclined to suppose that commerce establishes itself in a country by means of able combinations, expanded

views, bold enterprises, and all this as if it were only the mere execution of the inventions of genius. Hence have arisen many false notions concerning the rise of commerce amongst the ancients, especially amongst the Phenicians, and the resources which they had at their disposal. 'Of all the authors who have written upon this subject, Heeren appears to me to have studied with the greatest success the documents which have been handed down to us from the ancient authors: he evidently read them with the eye of one who was thoroughly acquainted with the ideas and manners of the country. We find, however, that he considers the commerce of its people as bearing too many analogies to the establishments of the English in remote countries, and to the species of intercourse which they tender to races with whom they are scarcely acquainted. It is possible to give a very different view of the first expeditions of the Phenicians, and to impart to them a more local colouring, which would therefore be nearer to the truth.

'The Phenicians from time immemorial formed part of the Scenite tribes who traversed the deserts of Arabia and its fertile coasts. Pushed more to the north, by events of which we are ignorant, or by that spirit of enterprise which manifested itself uniformly amongst them, they pursued their way over a part of Syria, and stopped on the coast between the 33d and 34th degrees of latitude. The fertility of the country, a natural instinct, which actuates man the moment he finds that he

can establish himself in security, and acquire property, induced the tribe to give up their wandering habits. By degrees their tents disappeared, and were replaced at first by huts, afterwards by houses of a more durable construction. But before they arrived at this commencement of civilisation, they already found a substitute for their former nomade occupations in those with which the sea provided them. Little barks, like those which they found on the coast, or which, perhaps, were the result of their own ingenuity, enabled them to transport articles to the countries north of their own territory, whence they received in exchange other species of merchandise which they brought home, and offered for sale to caravans of those tribes, their ancient allies, with whom they continued their friendly relations. Add to this, the sort of industry of which a sedentary life is naturally productive, and we arrive at the fabrication of articles of use or convenience, manufactured from the raw materials, which they procured from those caravans; the value of such materials was increased tenfold by their industry. The population increased in consequence of the tranquillity and security in which they lived; their connections became multiplied; their opulence augmented, in the midst of huts and houses erected here and there as necessity suggested. Public edifices, including, perhaps, temples, were added, in the course of time, and the name of the place thus inhabited assumed a degree of importance. At other localities the beneficence of some inhabitant,

or, perhaps, the celebrity of some occurrence, gave rise to similar establishments. Such, probably, would be the origin of most of those towns, which arose by imperceptible degrees, and in a way very different from that which would be adopted by a great sovereign, who would plan his capital before hand.

Once established as merchants in the midst of nomade tribes, as manufacturers in a country where all was pastoral, and as mariners on an excellent coast, their spirit of adventure would no longer be restrained within any limits; a fact established by the accounts which have reached us of their expeditions. Influenced less by the hope of gain, than by the attractions of the curiosities which this industrious people offered to them in exchange for their own produce, the Arabs applied themselves with more ardour to commerce, which, down to that period, was limited to the exchange of such articles of necessity as were adapted to their own very frugal mode of life. If we examine the map of the country, we shall perceive, that the southern districts, which abounded in natural riches, were calculated necessarily to become the entrepôt of countries equally flourishing, namely, India and Ethiopia; that the northern districts producing little, acquired every thing by the industry of their inhabitants, who offered in exchange for raw materials articles of manufacture, which were highly esteemed by uncivilised and ignorant tribes. Between the two lay the barrier of the desert, inhabited by wandering races, whose

industry was confined to the care of their flocks, and to the transport, by means of their camels, of the objects of their traffic.

The exchange of produce, which is the origin of all commerce, gave birth to, and continued to be, the basis of that of Arabia. The tribes nearest to Yemen exchanged for the merchandise which they received from their northern neighbours the produce generally in use amongst themselves, or that which they deemed it most advantageous to give for the articles they required. The goods they thus obtained were transported by means of their camels, the indispensable medium at all times of this trade, to different places frequented by the next adjoining tribes, who made their exchanges in turn according to their wants, or the suggestions of their experience, and conveyed still farther the merchandise of which they had thus become possessed. In this manner it passed on from hand to hand, until at length it reached the Idumeans and the Midianites.

These two tribes, whose territory bordered on the possessions of the Phenicians, had a direct trade with them in that direction. Hence they are the only people whose caravans have been connected with the events recorded in the Scriptures. They also traded with Egypt; that is to say, they went to that country for merchandise, which they could not find in Judea, and gave in exchange for it perfumery resin, myrrh, and even slaves, as in the instance of Joseph, the sons of Jacob, whom they bought

and sold.[a] It is a proof of this route having been long before frequented, that when, at a subsequent period, the brothers of Joseph were returning from Egypt to Palestine, they stopped at an inn or khan, which supposes a route divided by halting places, well furnished with every thing necessary for travellers.

The passage of the caravan of the Midianites, and the maintenance of such active relations with Egypt at that period, clearly establish the fact, that the commerce of Arabia dates from a much more remote epoch than that of the Phenicians; that it was independent of the route which the latter had given to trade, and that the sketch, which I have just presented, if not exactly conformable to the truth, is, at least, very like it.

The caravans of the Midianites became, after the establishment of the Phenicians, the medium of conveyance between that commercial people and Egypt. But the high state of civilisation to

[a] I have not mentioned here the Ismaelites who disappeared much sooner, or rather became confounded with that of the Midianites. Similar unions take place even at the present day in the desert between two or more tribes, who, though they have different names and chiefs, nevertheless form alliances, and have the same interests. A circumstance of this kind is evidently referred to in the 28th verse of the xxxviith chapter of Genesis: — "Then there passed by *Midianites*, merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph to the *Ishmeelites* for twenty pieces of silver: and they brought Joseph into Egypt." The sons of Jacob saw the caravan of the *Midianites* approaching; they drew their brother out of the pit, and sold him to the *Ismaelites*. It is probable that the Midianites were the more numerous, and gave their name to the caravan; but the brothers of Joseph, who were better acquainted with the Ismaelites, addressed themselves in preference to the latter.

which the latter country had then attained rendered the relations of the Phenicians with it less advantageous; and this branch of their trade must have been inconsiderable, as compared with their commerce with the Arabians, which was altogether in favour of the merchants and manufacturers of Tyre and Sidon. Thus we may observe, from the two routes of the caravans, the positions which were held by the different Midianite establishments; — one to the north of Petra served to protect their trade to Judea; the other near Mount Sinai secured that with Egypt.

The Arabians were the real agents, while the Phenicians were merely passive in the extension of their traffic. The latter being manufacturers of woollen and linen cloths of the most beautiful colours[a], of works in ivory, glass ware of every description, and probably of all the utensils[b] and articles in use amongst the tribes with which they carried on trade, their commerce must have been safe and highly prosperous for a long period. Having none to rival their manufacturing industry, running no risks, as to their debts, having scarcely any trouble in making their purchases, they awaited

[a] Odyssee, xv. 424.

[b] Solomon, when preparing to build a temple to the Lord, requested Huram to confer upon him the same favour which he bestowed upon his father: —

"Send me now, therefore, a man cunning to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in iron, and in purple, and crimson, and blue, and that can skill to grave with the cunning men that are with me in Judah and in Jerusalem, whom David my father did provide." — 2 Chron. ii. 7. Farther on Huram, speaking of the man whom he had sent, repeats the same things, and adds, *stone, wood, and fine linen.*

the caravans which conveyed to their markets useful articles of produce, which the latter sacrificed for others of little value. Such, in my opinion, would have been the most natural course of commerce down to the time of David and Solomon; it differs from the views which several other authors have endeavoured to give of it,—views which even Heeren has adopted, although in some passages he contradicts himself. Speaking of the tribes of Arabia, he observes; "They formed caravans, that is to say, they hired out or sold to the Phenicians numerous camels, as well as attendants and guides." "Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these were they thy merchants."[a] He has quoted this verse in support of his opinion, that the Phenicians made use of the caravans which belonged to the Arabs; but in doing so, he substituted "dromedaries" for "lambs, and rams, and goats," which is inconsistent with the translation given in the Vulgate, and also by Luther. The authority upon which he rested having, therefore, fallen to the ground, nothing remains except a mere opinion. It is not difficult to show, that down to that period the Phenicians had never set foot in Arabia at all, and that only somewhat later, in consequence of the introduction of their vessels into the Red Sea, they began to form an acquaintance with its coasts and its principal mercantile entrepôts.

Is it to be supposed that the Arabs, who were

[a] Ezekiel, xxvii. 21.

masters of their own trade from its commencement, would have suffered strangers to possess themselves of its profits without a struggle? Is it likely that tribes always so jealous lest strangers should obtain any knowledge of their wells and their country[a] would have permitted a nation, that might one day entertain ideas of conquest, to overrun it in every sense of the word, and with the full consent of the inhabitants, for the Phenicians had no power which would enable them to force their way? Besides, was it practicable, and had the Phenicians any reason to desire it?[b] At the present day, it is true, once a year a large caravan traverses half the road formerly followed the whole way; but soon after the commencement of their journey, many of the camels and beasts of burden belonging to the Hadjis die on the road, and then the Arabs, as I have already said, come territory by territory, fron-

[a] Diodorus.

[b] Jealousy and suspicion were leading traits in the character of the ancient tribes, as well as of those of the present day. When the brothers of Joseph went to Egypt, the pretext under which he chose to send them to prison was that they were "spies come to see the nakedness of the land," Gen. xlii. 9. When the Israelites were passing through the desert, they were prevented by a similar feeling of suspicion from entering different territories. When David, on the death of Naash, king of the Ammonites, sent ambassadors to compliment his son Hanun, "the princes of the children of Ammon said to Hanun, Thinkest thou that David doth honour thy father, that he hath sent comforters unto thee? Are not his servants come unto thee for to search, and to overthrow, and to spy out the land?" 1 Chron. xix. 3. Hanun listened to this advice, ill treated the ambassadors, and sent them away. Diodorus expresses himself in the same sense; and the experience of our own days is a proof that the Arabs of the desert have not altered their national dispositions in the slightest degree.

tier after frontier, to lend them assistance and protection. This fact alone proves the diminutions to which caravans are exposed that have to remain on their journey four or five months. How then can we figure to ourselves long lines of merchants of Tyre, or of Hadramont passing through hundreds of Arab tribes, the latter all the time indifferent spectators of the trade so carried on, and of the profits thus acquired? Notions so unfounded betray an entire ignorance of the country; it is not until after we have studied it as it really is that we can understand its means of communication, which were then the same as they are at the present day.

The prophet Ezekiel, in his magnificent canticle on the fall of Tyre, enumerates all the different nations which carried on trade with that city: all are represented as "carrying their merchandise to the market of Tyre," and taking in exchange other objects, chiefly of a manufactured description. "They traded," says the prophet, "in the persons of men and vessels of brass in thy market." "Many isles were the merchandise of thy hand: they brought thee for a present horns of ivory and ebony." "These were thy merchants in all sorts of things."[a] We never read of journies undertaken by the Phenicians, or of their caravans being interrupted: it is always the Arabs, or the inhabitants of the country who are mentioned, never the Phenicians.[b]

[a] Ezekiel, xxvii.

[b] Diodorus represents the commerce of the Nabatheans in the same manner; nevertheless their power was otherwise considerable, and much better established.

The riches of the Arab tribes could hardly be explained, merely by the sums which they earned by hiring out their camels: it is certain that David and Solomon found amongst them a great deal of gold and silver, though the amount may have been exaggerated.

Sidon, after having founded Tyre, peopled the coast. The industry of its inhabitants at that epoch is remarkable, the more especially as it did not proceed from imitation, but from pure original conception in the midst of ignorance the most complete on the part of the neighbouring tribes. Thus Huram justly said of the man whom he sent to Solomon, — "He is skilful to work in gold and silver," and "to find out every device which shall be put to him."[a] But from this skill to the perfection of the arts there was still a great distance; and the degree of civilisation which the Jews had attained at that period induces us to think that the industry of the Tyrians was not so far advanced as the Bible would lead us to believe, unless we consider it in the way of comparison with the ignorance of the Jews themselves. In fact, at the period when Tyre is said to have had houses of cedar, and articles of furniture of the most precious wood, and of sculptured ivory, the Israelites had no houses at all, and scarcely any furniture. Huram, then king, sends to David, "with the ambassadors, cedar wood, masons, and carpenters, to build him a house;" and when king David was in

[a] 2 Chron. ii. 14.

his house of cedar, he sent for Nathan and said to him,— "Lo, I dwell in an house of cedars, but the ark of the covenant of the Lord remaineth under curtains." [a] "And it came to pass the same night, that the word of God came to Nathan, saying, Go and tell David my servant, Thus saith the Lord, Thou shalt not build me an house to dwell in. For I have not dwelt in an house since the day that I brought up Israel unto this day; but have gone from tent to tent, and from one tabernacle to another." [b]

It is easy to judge from these short quotations what might have been the state of the arts at that time in Phenicia, and that every thing ornamental must have been limited to materials undoubtedly rich in themselves, but too imperfectly executed to correspond with the notions which we possess of superior workmanship. If the descriptions which we have of the building of Solomon's temple were written a long time after its erection, it would not have been difficult to explain the exaggerations which they contain; if written contemporaneously with the progress of the building itself, the ignorance in which a nomade people lived, dwelling under tents, accounts for their astonishment on beholding articles of furniture to them wholly novel, but at the same time rudely fashioned, and deriving their chief value from the materials of which they were composed.

While the Arabs were contented with carrying

[a] 1 Chron. xvii. 1. [b] Ib. 3—5.

their valuable raw produce, for which they easily obtained in return manufactured articles whose value arose chiefly from the wants or the ignorance of the purchasers, the Phenicians continued quietly to pursue their trade. But when the former, becoming more experienced, discovered the real worth of their produce, and felt the disadvantage under which they laboured by conveying their riches in large quantities to the merchants of Tyre, who compelled them, on account of the impossibility of sustaining for any length of time so large a number of camels in a dear country, to accept in exchange merchandise which frequently was of little use to them, they, in order to relieve themselves from so great an inconvenience, established entrepôts in their own towns. The Phenicians consequently became desirous of extending their more direct trade with those southern provinces, which it is impossible to designate by specific names.

As the Phenicians possessed no military force, we must suppose that the object of those attentions which Huram paid to king David was to induce him to listen with a favourable ear to the proposals of his ambassadors. These individuals were doubtless instructed to inform him that by reducing to submission the country which separated his kingdom from the coasts of the Red Sea, he would open for himself an inexhaustible source of wealth. Such proposals were well calculated to flatter that taste for splendour which he derived from the Phenician artists, and from the works

which they executed for him. David, in fact, did subsequently take the field, and conquered the three tribes who interposed between him and the Red Sea, and offered impediments to Phenician commerce. He smote the Idumeans, the Moabites, and the Ammonites, and he "put garrisons in Edom[a]," to keep that province in subjection. It may be presumed that the towns in which the garrisons were stationed were those in which collections of merchandise were kept, and that Petra was amongst the number; for from the earliest period the people who inhabited that district must have been aware of the peculiar advantages of its position.

Nothing is said during the reign of David of voyages by sea, although Elath and Ezion-Gaber were under his authority; and in speaking of the offerings which he had prepared for the LORD, he refers to "three thousand talents of the gold of Ophir[b]," which he had amassed. It is probable that his conquest was not yet sufficiently complete to enable Huram to undertake any commercial enterprise; and the gold of Ophir to which he alludes is perhaps a proof of the justness of the opinion which considers the name of Ophir as a general designation of all the countries to the south, which furnished gold and precious stones, and of which little was known at that period save by vague reports that confounded the whole under one appellation.

[a] 1 Chron. xviii. [b] Ib. xxix. 4.

Solomon had scarcely ascended the throne when he required the assistance of Hiram to enable him to erect the temple which he intended in honour of the Lord. He accordingly sent a message to him, to say, "As thou didst deal with David my father, even so deal with me."[a] The king of Phenicia cheerfully complied with his request, and caused to be cut down and conveyed "in flotes by sea" to Jaffa, the cedar and fir trees which he demanded. He sent him also the most skilful masons, carpenters, and workmen, and advanced him "gold according to all his desire[b]," all with a view to give him such a taste for architectural splendour as might induce him to join the Phenicians in their commercial enterprises. Hiram also gave Solomon several towns, which he garrisoned with his troops and fortified. When we look for the motive of all these attentions, we at once find it in the alliance which they concluded with each other—"and there was peace between Hiram and Solomon, and they two made a league together[c];" and also in the enterprises in which Solomon joined by way of making compensation for the services which he had obtained. It was thus that Hiram induced him to build the city of Palmyra, and to fortify its walls, in order to establish a line of protection for the line of caravans which journeyed from the Euphrates and Babylon to Phenicia. It must have been in consequence of this joint partnership in trade, that we find the king of Phenicia reproach-

[a] 2 Chron. ii. 3. [b] 1 Kings, ix. 11. [c] Ib. v. 12.

ing Solomon for the unimportance of the towns which the latter ceded to him: — "Are these, my brother, the towns you have given me?" This dissatisfaction was to be appeased by other favours, and hence arose the execution in common of the maritime expedition conceived in the time of David.

The Edomites, who occupied the whole territory comprised between Wady Mousa and Moila, about fifty leagues to the south of Akaba, had been led sooner than the other tribes into sedentary habits, either by the more fertile nature of their soil, or by their vicinity to the coasts of the Red Sea. Petra, their principal entrepôt, defended by its position in the midst of mountains, had for auxiliaries two maritime cities situated at the northern point of the Gulf of Akaba, one on the coast, which was Ela, the other on a neighbouring island, called Ezion-Gaber. Like the other inhabitants of those shores, they soon had barks, and established a small coasting trade, which doubtless extended along the whole eastern coast, and communicated with that of Egypt, in order to keep up their relations with the tribes of the desert districts, as well as with those of Ethiopia and Abyssinia, for the purpose of obtaining from them their respective articles of produce. Although the trade of the caravans must have suffered little from these maritime experiments of the inhabitants of the coasts, whose information was too limited to permit their enterprises to be carried to any considerable extent, nevertheless they must have gained during

their expeditions a sufficiently accurate knowledge of that sea bristling with rocks, if not from charts, at least from practical experience, often more correct. The Edomites would naturally have spoken of this trade in the markets of Tyre and Sidon; and it is difficult to suppose that a sea-faring and enterprising people should have heard their account of it with indifference.

The expedition of Solomon was not merely commercial, it was also military. It was necessary that it should be protected against numerous insubordinate tribes, which looked upon the execution of such projects with no small jealousy; it was further indispensable that troops should be embarked on board the vessels, in order to overawe the tribes which they might encounter on the way. Solomon was, therefore, the only prince who could afford the assistance which was required, inasmuch as he had many troops and garrisons in the towns of Idumea. Hiram was, therefore, the undertaker, Solomon the protector, of the expedition: his name, his troops, his aid were his part in the enterprise, to which the king of Phenicia added his judgment, his sailors, his ship-builders, and his vessels. There is enough in the sacred text to show that the sailors of Hiram went with the people of Solomon to Ophir; but these "people" could only have been troops. In what sea could the Hebrews have been exercised as mariners?

The wood for the construction of the vessels having been conveyed by sea from Tyre and Sidon

as far as Gaza, was carried on the backs of camels to the Red Sea, where the carpenters who accompanied them adjusted the several parts, and launched them on the waves. The difficulty of such an enterprise is only in appearance: the Crusaders surmounted it; and the inhabitants of Suez even now constantly see vessels set afloat in a complete condition, which but a short time before they beheld passing through their streets in parts on the backs of camels. Besides the Phenician sailors and Israelite troops, each vessel had on board Edomite pilots, who had been collected along the whole coast: thus this convoy of large vessels advanced through a sea abounding in walls of coral, sand banks, and rocks.

I might here enter into a dissertation on the positions of Ophir and Tarshish; but I should only probably add one more conjecture on a subject which has already given occasion to many, and which still allows so wide a margin for speculation, that when once we are in the arena we hardly know where to stop. The researches of Bockart, Michaelis, Gosselin, and several others, although supported by profound erudition, have convinced nobody. And I should doubtless be still less fortunate, if, like Vatable, Genebrard, and Robert Etienne, I should select St. Domingo; or if, like Arias Montanus, William Portel, and Geropius Becanus, I should fix upon Peru as the site of Ophir. The opinion of Heeren and many other writers, that its name designates not a particular country, but the coasts of Arabia, Africa, and the

Indies, as far as they were known, and which furnished the articles of produce so often mentioned in connection with that name, appears to me the only probable one: it agrees with all that we know of the people who first became acquainted with those countries, and who, for want of more precise designations, adopted a general appellation.

It is, however, sufficient for us to know that these voyages were made only once a year by means of the monsoons or periodical winds, one of which blows from the north during summer, while the other prevails during some months of the winter. The vessels so employed brought back gold, precious stones, ivory, ebony, apes, and peacocks.

This maritime trade continued but for a short time: it yielded to the numberless difficulties by which it was impeded, — a sea thickly spread with sand-banks and dangers of all kinds, a harbour badly protected, which accounts for the loss of king Jehoshaphat's fleet, jealous and hostile tribes in every place where they landed, and especially the want of entrepôts, except at Elath and Ezion-Gaber, always open to the attacks of a tribe difficult to be kept in order. The advantages accruing from seeking at their sources produce of great value were overbalanced by the cost attending expeditions which had so many difficulties to overcome; and the trade by land, so conformable to the manners and habits of the desert tribes, turned out, upon the whole, to be much more productive.

After the death of Solomon, the Edomites and

the other tribes recovered their independence, and restored commerce to the direction which it had followed from time immemorial. But some years after, Jehoshaphat, by sowing divisions between the tribes, reduced them once more to subjection, and formed an alliance with Ochozias, king of Israel.

"And he joined himself with him to make ships to go to Tarshish: and they made the ships in Ezion-Gaber.

"Then Eliezer the son of Dodavah of Mareshah prophesied against Jehoshaphat, saying, Because thou hast joined thyself with Ochozias, the Lord hath broken thy works. And the ships were broken, that they were not able to go to Tarshish."[a]

We must conclude that this maritime expedition, which was not conducted by skilful Phenicians, perished among the rocks, and that the uncertainty of the submission of the tribes prevented it from being renewed. Under Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, the Edomites selected for themselves an enterprising chief; they then threw off the mask, "and the Edomites revolted from under the dominion of Judah, and made themselves a king."[b] Although Jehoram attempted to bring them again to obedience, and gained some advantages over them, their independence, however, was not disturbed. "So the Edomites revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day."[c]

[a] 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37. [b] Ib. xxi. 8. [c] Ib. 10.

CHAPTER XVII.

COMMERCE OF THE NABATHEANS. — INTERCOURSE OF PHENICIA WITH EGYPT. — TRADE OF THE NABATHEANS. — DECLINE OF NABATHEAN COMMERCE. — RUIN OF PETRA. — NAVIGATION OF THE RED SEA. — ORIGIN OF NAVIGATION. — SESOSTRIS. — ANCIENT VESSELS. — CANAL OF THE RED SEA. — FILLING UP OF THE CANAL. — THE VENETIANS. — EFFECT OF THE DISCOVERIES OF THE PORTUGUESE. — ABANDONMENT OF THE RED SEA. — COMMUNICATION WITH INDIA. — CHARACTER OF ARABIA PETRÆA. — TRAVELLERS IN ARABIA PETRÆA. — PILGRIMAGES.

Thus terminated the commercial navigation of the port of Ela[a], and of the gulf of the same name, and also the participation of the Hebrews in its advantages, such as they were. It was from this period that the different names of the tribes associated in the management of caravans were effaced, or rather confounded in the single denomination of Nabatheans, a tribe who extended themselves along the coasts, and over a large tract of the adjoining territory. This was the only tribe which traded directly with Egypt and Phenicia, or with the entrepôts possessed by those two nations on the coast. As to the rest, the mode of carrying on the trade was the same as in the earlier ages, by passing it on from tribe to tribe by the means of

[a] I allude, of course, only to navigation on a large scale. Traces may be discovered of the appearance of vessels in the Elanitic Gulf as late as the eighteenth century.

caravans. Diodorus, who furnishes us with some valuable information concerning the Nabatheans, speaks very plainly on this point: — "A great part of them are occupied in conveying along the coast of the Mediterranean incense, myrrh, and other valuable articles of produce, which they receive from tribes who bring them from Arabia Felix." The latter, instead of going as far as Tyre and Sidon, deposited at Petra, Ela, and other fortified places, their merchandise, which, according to circumstances, were sent to the towns that were successively established between Gaza and Pelusium. The Nabatheans must have acquired immense wealth, if we may form an idea of it from the anxiety which Antigonus had to possess it, from the different authors who speak of it without being at all connected with them, and, above all, from the splendid monuments which adorned their capital, and which might be compared, in point of magnificence, with those of Egypt and India.

After having led the kings of Judea, of whose protection they stood in need, into commercial enterprises on the Elanitic Gulf, by means of which they procured for themselves, upon the most advantageous terms, the valuable articles of produce which they had previously received direct from the Arabs, the Phenicians turned towards Egypt, with a view to exhibit their spirit of enterprise on the Gulf of Suez, under the protection of a more regularly established government. There they had to contend against the national hostility to trade, and the horror of any connection with

strangers; nevertheless, they found means to conquer those prejudices, and to engage the Pharaohs in several maritime expeditions. Although the expedition of Sesostris to India may be deemed questionable evidence, and that of Necos may be considered inadmissible, three facts are recorded, concerning which there can be no doubt: first, that under the reign of the former the Egyptians ventured into the Red Sea; secondly, that in the time of the latter, commerce had been sufficiently extended to give rise to the idea of sending mariners to discover other countries, which were doubtless supposed to teem more abundantly with riches; and, thirdly, that it became necessary, in order to facilitate the transport of merchandise, to form a canal between the Red Sea and the Nile.

At a later period, the tendency of trade towards Alexandria, and the enlightened protection afforded to it by the Ptolemies, while they ruined the commerce of Phenicia, inflicted scarcely any injury on that of the Nabatheans. The exclusive navigation of the Red Sea might have interfered with the trade of the caravans: but the reasons which I have already mentioned still contributed to impede this channel of communication; and the caravans which came from the Persian Gulf, as well as those which pursued the ordinary route, must have continued to be the source of immense riches, as it is to this epoch we must refer the splendour of the Nabatheans. The merchandise of that trading people was sent to the coast of Rhinoco-

lura; but instead of Phenician vessels, those of the Ptolemies came to take it away.

The continual wars by which Syria was disturbed, the dissensions which took place in the East, and the general movement which overthrew the Roman republic, and ended in establishing the colossal Roman empire, doubtless injured the trade of the Nabatheans. But the position of their capital protected them from all personal solicitude; and, peaceable spectators of the struggle, they continued uninterruptedly their relations with southern Arabia. When Octavius, after having put down all those who might oppose his ambitious views, and gathered into his own hands the reins of power, placed the organisation of this extensive government on a tranquil footing, trade renewed its activity, encouraged by the taste for luxury and magnificence which the Romans had acquired in Asia.

When the kingdom of the Nabatheans became a Roman province, it preserved its splendour for some time, but its trade became worse every day: to this several causes contributed. At first the trade of the Persian Gulf gradually abandoned the southern route, and was carried more to the north, following the course of the Euphrates to Palmyra, which acquired a degree of grandeur attested by the monuments of it that still remain. The navigation of the Red Sea, moreover, was extended in proportion as its dangers were overcome by experience. Soon after the advantage was discovered of entrepôts, which avoided the navigation of the

northern part of the Gulf of Heroopolis (Suez), which was the most dangerous, and successively Berenice and Cous were founded. These places received not only the merchandise transported by sea from distant countries, but also that which the caravans had deposited on the opposite side, on the Arabian coast, and which had then to make a passage of only twenty-five leagues across the sea, and three days by land, to arrive at the Nile.

A city so large as Petra must have resisted these disadvantages for some time; but its ruin was the inevitable consequence of that of its commerce: it must have greatly declined towards the seventh century, for the Arabian authors scarcely mention it among the conquests which were made by the first disciples of Islamism. The discoveries of the Portuguese were a fresh blow to the little trade which it then retained; its inhabitants next abandoned it, and after that the grand caravan from Mecca, once a year, alone served to revive in those vast solitudes the remembrance of that early activity, the parent of a commerce which had so long supplied two quarters of the globe.

I have already, when speaking of the trade of the Nabatheans, entered into some details concerning the navigation of the Red Sea. Arabia, where so many important events have taken place, must also have been the cradle of maritime enterprise. Erythras, who, according to the ancient authors, bestowed his name on the Red Sea, gave it also its first vessel. In fact, that sea, from its ap-

pearance, seems expressly calculated to encourage a spirit of adventure. The lofty coasts, which are so near each other as never to be out of sight from either shore, the habitable and fertile character of the islands, which served as places of refuge from bad weather, and, above all, the necessities of Egypt and the resources of Arabia, furnished abundant motives to urge the inhabitants on both sides to experiments which in the first instance must have been considered extraordinary. Moreover, the Arabs on the western or African side, who had established relations with Egypt by the sale of their flocks and herds, could hardly have been strangers to those first attempts at navigation, for which the Nile, as a river, presented more facilities than the sea.

The first essays of this description were nearly the same every where: a trunk of a tree[a]; several trees tied together by means of rushes, and forming a raft[b]; then a large turtle shell[c]: from the moment man discovered the advantages of a hollow form, his inventions became only improvements. Earthen pots turned upside down sustained his rafts; reeds joined together and covered with skins of animals formed a boat, which was soon succeeded by a tree hollowed out. All these experiments, made simultaneously or by imitation on the Red Sea as well as on the Nile, equally suited a river whose current is not very rapid, and a sea

[a] Sanchoniathon.
[b] Homer, Odyssey, v. 244.; Pliny, vii. c. 56.
[c] Pliny, ix. 10.

sprinkled at short intervals with islands easy of access, and bordered by two lines of coast full of creeks which afforded a ready shelter.

The navigation of the Red Sea was effected, down to the time of Sesostris, doubtless by the most simple means. The gigantic projects of that sovereign, however, must have given a new impulse to maritime enterprise. Might not the Egyptians have known as well as the Phenicians, or have learned from them the use of the sail and the rudder, which they employed simultaneously with oars, as instruments of motion less rapid, but more certain, than the winds? The Greeks, the Arabs, then the Venetians and the Turks, visited the Red Sea successively, to equip and man their vessels; but however they perfected the style of building according to ideas which they received from other countries, they allowed the primitive form to remain, such as we still see it in the paintings and funeral offerings so well preserved by the Egyptians.[a]

Upon my arrival at Suez, a vessel (*Dao*) was entering the port: its prow was long, its poop elevated, so as to bend upwards out of the water, and its rudder was in the shape of a large oar. The

[a] In Denon's work on Egypt, Antiquité, vol. ii. pl. 62., and vol. iv. pl. 18., there are a papyrus and a painting, in which several boats are seen: a man is in front bearing a long pole, with which he sounds the bottom, while others are returning to give information to the man at the helm. See also vol. iv. plate 63. No. 3., and vol. i. pl. 68. k. y. Belzoni, Gau, Minutoli, and Caillaud have nothing in their copies of hieroglyphics resembling this usage.

pilot[a] was actively engaged in front; his gesticulations sufficiently indicated his character: the body of the vessel was painted in brilliant colours. A thick unwieldy mast was raised above the deck, and above the main-sail appeared some black seamen, peculiar in figure and the mode of wearing their hair. This spectacle reminded me strongly of the vessels found in the Egyptian tombs, and particularly of two in a perfect state of preservation, discovered during the excavations which were carried on under my directions for five months at the foot of the Pyramids. The vessel was cut out exactly in the same way; the pilot was in front, the helmsman behind; the figure of the Nubian rowers, the cut of their hair, the simplicity of their costume, the hue of their skin, were all alike, exhibiting a singular resemblance to the sailors who, in our time, navigate the Red Sea.

Thus in the most remote ages, when the first attempts at navigation had been scarcely made in other countries, the Red Sea had a coasting trade from the town of Ezion-Gaber as far as Babel Mandel: this trade was considerably extended by the Phenicians. Afterwards, other Phenicians, protected by the kings of Egypt and their troops,

[a] The long rudder and the custom of having constantly a man at the prow, in order to point out the course which was to be pursued, are two striking characteristics which are preserved at the present day. Niebuhr (Reisebeschreibung, tom. i. p. 257.); Aly Bey (Voyages, tom. ii. p. 33.), Giovanni Finati (tom. i. p. 142.), and others have spoken of this pilot. Long before these writers, Ludovico Barthema of Bologna mentioned him also. Itinerario, fol. xviii

set out from the Gulf of Heroopolis with the same object in view, and proceeded towards the same countries. This route once marked out, the inhabitants of Egypt, either of Phenician origin, but domiciled in the country, or purely Egyptian, but guided by Phenicians, continued this trade, which must have acquired great importance, since it gave rise to the gigantic project of the canal of the Nile to the sea, an enterprise that can only be explained by the accumulation of merchandise which it was more advantageous to convey in this manner into the interior of the country.

The Greeks and Romans, availing themselves at once of this canal, pursued the same route. The numbers of piratical vessels which at that period scoured the sea, the greater part of which were manned by Nabatheans[a] who took refuge in the dangerous archipelago of the Elanitic Gulf, prove that the navigation of that sea had wonderfully increased. In the course of a little time the canal was filled with sand; and the people of those days, being ignorant of the art of building sluices, its navigation was interrupted by the impediments thus collected, as well as by the delays caused by the winds which blow regularly in the Red Sea, as through a tunnel, shut up between Arabia Petræa and Egypt. These circumstances probably induced the Greeks to found the city of Berenice,

[a] It is not to be wondered at that the Nabatheans should have by all means opposed the navigation of the Red Sea, and it is even possible that the government of Petra was not a stranger to that resistance.

on the coast, with a view to establish there a grand entrepôt, whence merchandise might be conveyed on the backs of camels as far as the Nile, and thence distributed through the country. This was doubtless the most economical mode of effecting their object, although at the first blush it would seem to require a great expense. But it should be observed, that by these means they avoided the dangers of the northern part of the Gulf of Heroopolis, as well as the delays and expenses occasioned by the navigation and repairs of the canal of Suez, and that they were enabled without the employment of a double agency to distribute their merchandise through the country, and, what costs scarcely any labour, to send it down by the Nile to the Mediterranean.

The conquest of Egypt by Amron brought the Arabs, not commerce, to which they had been accustomed from time immemorial on their coasts, and which they had resumed with greater zeal after their regeneration, but some additional ports; above all, a communication with the Mediterranean, and consequently an outlet, a source of increasing trade of which they knew how to avail themselves. At first they followed the route of Berenice and Cous; but when Omar compelled Amron to clear out the canal of the Nile to Suez, vessels ascended as far as the latter city for more than a century; merchandise arrived by water at Cairo, and grain was exported thence for Mecca by this artificial route. In truth, it is only during this period that we have evident and indisputable proofs of its having been

used. According to the Arabian authors the canal was incumbered purposely in the year of the Hegira 150, and its passage was interrupted by order of the caliph Mausour (the second Abacyde caliph), in order to prevent supplies of provisions from being sent in this way to Medina.[a] I attach little credit to this assertion, for, as he was master of Egypt, it would have been much more easy for him to station guards to prevent the passage of transports than to fill up the canal. We may conclude therefore that the accumulation of the sand in the canal was rather the result of negligence, and that in consequence it was eventually altogether abandoned. Commerce then took the route of Cosseir, and preserved a languid existence for about three centuries.

The Venetians, who had long failed to obtain access to the Mahometan countries, received their merchandise for a considerable period from India by caravans, which set out from the Black Sea. But when fanaticism had abated a little, and the horror entertained against every thing Christian yielded to milder sentiments, they endeavoured to negotiate with the masters of Egypt. Another reason which still more strongly determined them to take this step was, that the Genoese had then obtained from the Greeks the almost exclusive commerce of the Black Sea. The Venetians succeeded in concluding a treaty, which ceded to them the commerce of the Red Sea; they then

[a] El Macryzi.

formed establishments on its coasts. From the ruins which are still visible on the Egyptian shore and on that of the peninsula of Sinai, it is evident that they ascended the entire gulf, and neglected the route from Berenice to the Nile, which the Greeks, the Romans, and Arabians preferred, when the canal was abandoned. The sea route, the difficulties of which I have already mentioned, offered, however, peculiar advantages to the Venetians. Their seamen were more experienced than the navigators who had preceded them in that quarter; they knew how to avoid its dangers, inasmuch as they navigated with the same kind of vessels and the same skill as the Portuguese, who at a later period made such important discoveries. The compass would have been of little use to them in a sea where they never lost sight of the coasts. Besides, they were barely endured in Egypt by the government, while they were looked upon with great jealousy by the inhabitants; though protected by the authorities, they were scoffed at by a people full of religious prejudices. They therefore avoided as much as possible having any thing to do with the Mussulmans, and shunned the seat of a government whose protection they found most beneficial at a distance. These powerful considerations were sufficient to prevent them from establishing their entrepôts at a distance of 150 leagues from the capital, whence they would have been obliged to entrust them to people of the country, and to have them conveyed through the provinces which were the least favourable to them.

The canal of Suez being stopped up, the Venetians effected the transport of their merchandise by caravans of camels, which then traversed, as they still do in our time, the thirty leagues of distance which separate Suez from the Nile. The proximity of the capital, and the influence of the supreme authority, afforded sufficient protection to this passage.

But the discoveries of the Portuguese[a] were destined to overwhelm the industry of these enterprising merchants, and to strike a blow at fair Venice, the new queen of the seas, from which she will never recover. Alphonso Albuquerque, in 1515, entered the Red Sea, and took possession of Aden, but retired from it soon again, after a narrow escape from total destruction in that sea of sandbanks. Soliman Pacha, in 1539, with the advice and assistance of the Venetians, fitted out an expedition, which ended in the useless siege of Diu.[b] Dom Jean de Castro, in 1540, penetrated as far as Suez, without however being able to destroy the Turkish fleet, which was at anchor in the port, and retired without having achieved any thing, except the having armed, at Tor, a few knights of St. Catherine.[c] Eventually the Venetians and

[a] See the works of De Barros—Faria y sousa Asia Portugueza. Le P. Joseph Lapitau (Découvertes des Portugais). Lopez de Castaneda. Histoire des Découvertes des Indes Orientales, par les Portugais.

[b] See p. 144., Viaggio di Alessandria nelle Indie, 1537, printed at Venice in 1545. It is found also in the first vol. 8vo. of Ramusio.

[c] Diario de Jean Castro. Purchass Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1150. Algemeine Historie aus dem Eng. uebersetz Basel, 1747, vol. i. p. 458.

their establishments were overthrown, not by battles or conquests, but by the discovery of the new route to India, and subsequently of America, which attracted the enterprising spirit of the Dutch, the English, the French, and the Spaniards, and rendered the Red Sea almost useless.

The Venetians gradually abandoned their establishments, consisting of buildings appropriated to the storage of provisions, and of admirably constructed cisterns, filled, for the supply of vessels, from remote springs, whose waters were conducted from the mountains to the coast.

No motives of interest any longer existing to encourage the skill and perseverance of these foreign merchants, the navigation of the Red Sea was given up to the hands of the lazy Mussulmans, and to the feeble protection of an ill-organised government: it suddenly fell off to such a degree, that a few large barks have been sufficient for two hundred years to meet the whole of its commerce. Its trade would have disappeared altogether, if Mocha and its coffee, and Mecca and its pilgrimages, had not served to keep up some commercial relations, which, though inconsiderable, are still sufficient to maintain Suez, Tor, Djedda, and some other ports to the south.

I have already alluded to Napoleon's plans for opening the ancient canal of Suez. He hoped thereby to strike a blow at the wealth of England: his project was magnificent, but he calculated on a power which slipped from him, that of his navy, which he often despised, and never understood.

Since our armies have retired from these countries, and the English have become almost exclusively possessed of the commerce of that part of the world, it has been asked, why the latter have not endeavoured to avail themselves of the route of the Red Sea, which offers a considerably shorter passage to India than that by the Cape of Good Hope. It should, however, be considered, that the first interest of a maritime power is to preserve the superiority of that force which constitutes its strength. If the length of the voyage were diminished by one half, by encouraging the discharge of cargoes in the ports of the Red Sea, although commerce might gain by this alteration, it would reduce the number of the vessels and seamen now employed in the India trade by one half, and thus greatly impair the resources of English power in case of war.

The map which accompanies this work, and upon which I have traced all the routes that have been indicated by travellers, shows that Arabia, from the most remote period down to our time, has been traversed in all directions. We might, therefore, have reasonably expected more ample information concerning it than has reached our hands. It is necessary, however, to make allowance for the nature of the country, and the kind of travellers who have chiefly frequented it; a territory so constituted, that a few wells, and the scanty herbage by which they are surrounded, are the only points that attract attention, as they have enabled caravans, armies, pilgrims, and the travel-

lers of our days to journey over its wastes. That region, moreover, exhibits an enormous extent of mountain desert, intersected by a few valleys or plains, which, since they have become known to man, have served as roads constantly pursued for purposes very different from those connected with the acquisition of knowledge. This observation, which is true with reference to all Arabia, is particularly applicable to Arabia Petræa, the geological features of which, from time immemorial, gave a natural direction to routes, to which the traveller was confined, and prevented him from attempting those deviations which he might have been otherwise disposed to make.

As to the travellers who have frequented that region, they may be distinguished in two ways — their interests and their customs. The first division comprehends all the ancient commercial caravans, which, without exposing themselves to certain loss, could not alter the line of their journey, nor the intervals between their magazines; it includes also conquering armies, who, actuated by a love of plunder, would pursue exactly the same routes with less peaceable views. The second class consists of pilgrims, of whom scientific travellers may be considered as a subdivision. Upon comparing together the information which they have collected, it proves abundantly that they could not avoid pursuing the same roads, halting at the same wells, and conforming alike to the geological difficulties of the country.

Our acquaintance with the state of ancient com-

merce allows of a sufficiently large margin for the intercalation of many plausible conjectures. The notions which we have of it are chiefly furnished by the Bible, that volume which deserves our esteem in every respect, and by some Greek authors. I have already mentioned them; I would here only repeat, that those long caravans, however numerous or varied they may have been, were limited, so far as a knowledge of the country is concerned, to three grand routes, one of which reached Petra, while the two others, separating into two branches, proceeded to Egypt and Syria. But all had the same halting places, and the same daily journeys, as those that preceded them.

The commercial importance of Petra, its celebrity as a capital, and the accounts which strangers gave of it, enabled ancient authors to give us some details concerning it, which lead us from the Scriptures to the narratives of military operations. They exhibit, by indicating the routes, the position of the principal places, and by their descriptions of manners, its moral aspect at that period. At a latter date Arabia was conquered, and we have also some accounts of that event, but nothing of a satisfactory nature—no topographical details—fragments only which serve in some degree to keep up the chain of connection with its subsequent history.

When Christianity arose, Arabia Petræa became the refuge of the primitive anchorites, the first theatre of the martyrs of that religion which was destined to spread all over the world. The pious hermits have given us some idea of the situation of the country

from the narratives of their trials and sufferings. The simple accounts which they have left us of journeys from one point to another, of halting places, and the manners of the inhabitants, are of peculiar value from the circumstance that we have no others. They are, however, nothing more than the narratives of individuals, who felt interested only about one part of the country, forgetting the rest altogether. The Bible and the ancient authors comprise, the one in the recital of events, the other in their general views, the whole of Arabia Petræa, while the martyrs and the fathers of the church, pilgrims and travellers, occupied themselves, after the second and third centuries, exclusively with the peninsula of Sinai, the religious associations of which attracted the devotion of the former, and the curiosity of the latter. All that region which stretches to the east beyond a line drawn from Ebron to Akaba, including the territory of the celebrated capital of the Nabatheans, was concealed beneath a thick veil until the commencement of the present century. It is only partially raised by the Ecclesiastical reports, some of which go so far as to speak of Bostra, the metropolis of *Palestina tertia*, while others speak only of *Petra deserti*, Crack, or Karak, the fortress of Rinaldo, which belongs to Arabia Deserta.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PILGRIMAGES TO SINAI. — MAHOMETAN INVASION. — FALL OF JERUSALEM. — INCREASE OE PILGRIMS. — PRIVILEGES OF PILGRIMS. — TRADE IN RELICS. — PILGRIM TAX. — EARLY ROUTE OF THE PILGRIMS. — THE CONSECRATED FIRE. — ROUTE THROUGH HUNGARY. — NARRATIVES OF PILGRIMS. — PIERRE DE SUCHEN. — DUTIES OF CHRISTIAN KNIGHTS. — TOLERATION OF THE SARACENS. — THE LAST CRUSADE. — HOSPITALITY TOWARDS PILGRIMS. — THEIR INNS. — SARACEN PROTECTION. — TRAVELLERS IN THE HOLY LAND. — UNCHANGEABLENESS OF ORIENTAL MANNERS.

As soon as Christianity began to extend itself, and was established in some parts of the holy city which had been the principal theatre of its mysteries, pilgrimages were at first made to the nearest, and afterwards to the more remote provinces, in proportion as the new religion made progress. About the third century Europe took a part in these pilgrimages, and the devotion of the Emperor Constantine, and of his mother Helena, as well as the care with which they collected the most interesting relics connected with Christianity, and enshrined them in magnificent edifices enriched by the most sumptuous presents, excited universal attention, and powerfully stimulated the zeal of the primitive Christians.

From that period commenced those innumerable pilgrimages which seem to have increased in proportion as the difficulties attending them were

augmented. The first Christian travellers landing in the East, set out from Cairo or Jerusalem, reached Sinai, scrupulously visited all its celebrated localities, and then proceeded to their different destinations: that is to say, those who set out from Jerusalem went to Cairo to visit the hermits of the Thebaid and the lakes of Natro; whereas those who took their departure from Cairo terminated their pilgrimage at the Holy Sepulchre. In the fourth century Saints Jerome and Eusebius went to Egypt to admire the austerities of the hermits of the Thebaid, and of the desert of Nitrice. Antoninus in the year 560 visited Sinai; he found three abbots in a convent, which had already been constructed there, and on the summit of the mountain he observed the chapel, of which remains are still to be seen. In the following years several other pilgrims ascended to that hermitage to pay their respects to the pious anchorites, who led there a life of expiation and suffering, of which we can scarcely form any idea.

Thus Christianity made great progress amongst a society already on the decline, and in the midst of an empire already shaken to its centre. Its internal dissensions opened the way to the Mahometan invasion, which it would have been easy to resist on the first attempt. Nevertheless, whether it was that Arabia Petræa offered little interest to the armies of the Prophet, a nomade race, whose chief object was the conquest of Egypt and Syria, or that really nothing which occurred during their passage through the country seemed worthy of

their notice, their authors scarcely mention that peninsula. Jerusalem fell, after a resistance of four months, under the power of the Mussulmans, and the capitulation then entered into is the same which still governs the relations between them and the Christians throughout the whole extent of the Mahometan empire. The Christians have "liberty to practise their religion in all their churches, but they are forbidden to erect new ones; they are to have no crucifixes on the outside, nor any processions beyond the walls of their temples; they are permitted to strike on bells, but not to suspend them; they are forbidden to prevent a Christian from adopting Islamism; they are enjoined to pay the greatest respect to Mussulmans, and to distinguish themselves from the latter by their names, their apparel, and their manners."

The obstacles thrown in the way of the pilgrims by these new masters of the holy places, the horror which the former naturally felt at the sight of such heretics, and the obligation imposed upon them of humbling themselves in their presence, do not appear, however, to have subdued the ardour for these pilgrimages which then prevailed. In order to explain this perseverance in the performance of a supposed duty, attended by so many difficulties and privations, it is necessary to consider for a moment what was then the state of society in Europe. Nothing was at that period permanently established; burthens of every kind were imposed on some to the profit of others, right was in the strongest, and power was confined to the minority, while the mass was

unoccupied. When we add to this state of things, that restless spirit of adventure which converts the paternal home into a dreary residence, and makes the great routes the most ordinary haunts of men, it will not be difficult to account for the frequent accomplishment of a journey attended with so much inconvenience.

Nor was it possible to decline an enterprise which religion surrounded with the charms of holiness, and the people consecrated by their admiration? The pilgrim having resolved on his task, obtained from the church the scarf and staff; and, blessed by the whole population, and perhaps accompanied by them as far as the first convent, he commenced his long and wearisome journey under the most favourable auspices. Itineraries were already made out[a]; convents had been built on the roads most frequently adopted; inns, maintained by rich noblemen who had not yet attempted such expeditions themselves, received indiscriminately, and with equal respect, every person who bore the title of pilgrim. Supported during their journey by pious foundations, they encountered no obstacles on their way through different countries, for their character secured them a degree of protection which they could have obtained from no other consideration. Amongst the Huns, the Goths, and the Vandals, they were encouraged by the new converts to Christianity, who had already learned to venerate the birth-place of their religion. They

[a] See that of Bordeaux, published by Walkener.

were respected from sympathy by other nations, which, though still attached to their own superstitions, had their own holy places to which they also performed pilgrimages. Particular regulations fixed every where the rights to which a pilgrim was entitled on his journey.

Even at the present day, the best introduction for any person travelling in the East is to announce himself as a pilgrim. During the whole of our journey from Constantinople to Egypt, to the questions which were repeatedly addressed to us as to the object of our travels by the pachas and Musselims, in presence of their assembled courts, our answer was always the same, that we were on a pilgrimage to the tomb of our Lord. It would be difficult to describe the respect with which this answer was universally received, and the extent to which it facilitated all our arrangements.

To the honours which were paid to the pilgrim before his departure, to the protection which he received during his journey, and to the veneration with which he was welcomed on his return home, another motive is to be added, which doubtless had its influence on many persons — the trade in relics, and the profits which were easily derived from it at a period when convents were so numerous and so wealthy. The custom of accumulating in each of these establishments, with a view to their greater renown, the remains of holy men, or fragments of articles sanctified by having been used by them, became so prevalent, that the trade thus carried on, under the garb of pilgrimage, from the

earliest ages, continued for a long time after the crusades, notwithstanding all the frauds which were mixed up with it. It still affords support, even in our age of indifference, to several villages near Jerusalem.[a]

The relations which Charlemagne established with Haroun-el-Raschid, and the wise rule of the latter, enabled the Christians of the East to enjoy a degree of liberty and repose which they had not known since the conquest. They had then at Jerusalem twelve houses or inns, and in the valley of Josaphat some fields and vineyards. In the peninsula of Sinai, besides the monastery of St. Catherine, several lesser convents were built in different valleys, and attended by monks. Pilgrimages, which were then considered as an expiation of all kinds of transgressions, became customary, and entered into the manners of the time. The number of pilgrims increased every day in consequence of the legal aid and protection which they uniformly received. Charlemagne ordained that "on account of the love of God, and the salvation of their own souls, nobody should refuse the pilgrims lodging, fire, and water." Nevertheless, on arriving in the Holy Land he had to pay a certain tax — the *Bisantium aureum* — which the Mussulmans from the period of the conquest levied on

[a] Bags of shells are transported on the backs of camels from Suez, upon which Arabs of Bethlehem and Jerusalem form imitations of the Holy Sepulchre, either sculptured in relief or engraved. Of these shells chaplets are made, and great quantities are sold every year at Jerusalem; they are also exported both to the eastern and western provinces.

each of them. It was a heavy impost on persons who undertook so long a journey, relying on the alms which they received on the way. Hence many pilgrims, who had not the prudence to provide money for this purpose, were, as Bernard, who visited that country in 870, assures us, thrown into irons for not having paid the tribute. The number of these persons must have been considerable, as a society was established for purchasing their freedom. But, he adds, as the Saracens weighed the money with their own weights, six pennies would only make three, and thus it was often necessary to pay double the amount.

Zimisces, after Nicephorus Phocas, profiting of the disorders which followed the reign of the sage caliphs of Bagdad, made himself master of all the towns of Judea. But the Greeks, far from consolidating that important conquest, soon after his death suffered the country to fall back under the dominion of the Fatimite Caliphs, who had established their power in Egypt. Hakem, the third of the race, was a scourge to the Christians; their churches were thrown down, the relics were trampled upon, and the pilgrims exposed to all sorts of vexations. But this change of system was not suffered to pass unopposed; Gerbert, who after his pilgrimage became pope under the name of Silvester the Second, raised an armed force against the Mussulmans; pilgrimages, moreover, were no longer performed by individuals alone or in small numbers, but in considerable bodies, like real armies. It was at this period, that the pilgrimage

of Bononius took place, who, after having sojourned at Babylon, or Old Cairo, in Egypt, visited Jerusalem, and settled on Mount Sinai, where he lived many years, and died in 1026.

Down to the middle of the eleventh century, the route followed by all the pilgrims was nearly the same. They traversed Italy, where, after receiving the Pope's benediction, they embarked for Constantinople, whence they proceeded through Asia Minor to Syria. Although the desire of seeing Constantinople, and of joining other pilgrims at that grand rendezvous, was among the motives that determined them to go thus far out of their way, it was the then state of navigation and the expenses of so long a passage which chiefly induced them to prefer the land journey through Asia Minor. Richard II., Duke of Normandy, who had not the courage to attempt this sacred enterprise, wished to have at least the merit of enabling others to accomplish it; he paid all the expenses of the seven hundred pilgrims who followed Richard, Abbot of Saint-Vitou, in 1046. One of the marvels of that pilgrimage, is the description which its historian has left us of the apparition of the consecrated fire in the presence of the Turks, and of the naked sabre which wounded the Christians. The Duke of Normandy at the same period encouraged all kinds of pious foundations, and received annually, at Rouen, the monks of Mount Sinai, who came to collect the presents which he made to their convent.

Not long after that period, when Hungary, or at

least a portion of its inhabitants, was converted to Christianity, pilgrimages were performed without interruption, at first by land as far as Constantinople, and then from that capital by the ordinary route to Jerusalem. The uncertainty of the sea passage, and doubtless more even than that, its expensiveness, were sufficient reasons for their adopting the journey by land, which was besides much more free from danger [a], and upon which their expenses from stage to stage were defrayed by the convents and pious establishments expressly founded for the support of these expeditions. Bishop Liebert, attended by three thousand pilgrims, was the first who opened this route, and traversed a country little accustomed to such visiters: he had, therefore, to experience all the difficulties of a first attempt.

In 1064, twenty years before the first crusade, we have the details of the journey of a troop of more than seven thousand pilgrims preceded by several bishops. Although no traces remain of their excursions to Sinai, it is nevertheless to be presumed that many of these pilgrims, after having visited Jerusalem, repaired to that solitude by the route indicated in my map. At the same time it is natural to suppose that this part of their journey did not seem to them sufficiently important to be mentioned in the general account of their pilgrimage.

[a] P. de Suchen said, even so late as the fourteenth century, that the journey by land was preferable; and the *provysion de Wey*, a century later, sufficiently indicates the delays to which it was liable.

When we reflect on the circumstance that so great a number of persons, for the most part well educated and of high birth, have made this long tour both by sea and land; have sojourned for months, years, nay, during their whole lives, in those interesting countries; and when we examine the memorials which they have left us of their enterprise; we are astonished at the scantiness and dulness of the information which they have left us. Perhaps we are not entitled to reproach the pious pilgrims themselves with having omitted to consign their thoughts to writing in the midst of the fatigues which they had to endure; but have we not some right to complain of the convents which received, after such interesting expeditions, those who had the courage to engage in them, and failed to obtain from their lips any thing more than a mere catalogue, a thousand times repeated, of miracles and fables, which have no more of interest for us than they had of utility for their contemporaries? We must, however, do the convents the justice to confess that it is to them we owe the limited information we possess concerning these countries.

It was not until after the conclusion of the crusades that the pilgrimages assumed the character of descriptive journeys, exhibiting the motives which led to their being undertaken, and the means by which they were accomplished. Pierre de Suchen, 1336—1350, is the first who deserves our notice. He visited Egypt, Mount Sinai, and Syria; and the information which he collected,

although mingled with a good deal of fable, is instructive and engaging in consequence of the natural manner in which it is presented. His narrative was published at Venice, in Latin, and at Nuremberg, in German, the language of the author.[a] After him comes Nicolo Frescobaldi, a Florentine of good family[b], who performed his pilgrimage in 1383. His journal is less incumbered with idle tales, and contains a considerable proportion of information collected with scrupulous exactness. Moreover, Frescobaldi pursued the same route as his predecessor, Breydenbach, who is more generally known. These journeys were, however, still pilgrimages[c], the habits of which had survived the misfortunes of the Christian army. We find, in a work written in the fifteenth century by Antoine de la Sale, the duty of performing pilgrimages enumerated amongst those which it is incumbent upon a new knight to discharge. "Besides," he observes, "good knights repair to the Holy Sepulchre for the love and honour of our Lord: others visit St. Catherine, where they pay their devotions." In a treaty concluded in 1403, between the order of St. John

[a] It is entitled, Eyn Register über das Buch von den Weg zu den heiligen Grabod, gelobte Land und Wund'n hie mit begriffen.

[b] This journey was printed in 1818, at Florence, by Manzi, from a manuscript in the Barbarini library.

[c] Hans Tucher, Fürer von Heinendorf, Barthema, Albrecht von Lowenstein, the Itinerary of the Red Sea in Latin and Portuguese of Jean de Castro, and the anonymous Italian author of a Voyage down the Red Sea, are the principal works of that period which I consulted while writing the description of my journey.

of Jerusalem and the Sultan of Egypt, mention is made, among the duties to be levied on the pilgrims to the Holy Land, of the pilgrims who repaired to St. Catherine of Mount Sinai, and permission is given to that convent to repair its buildings and to construct new ones.

It is surprising to observe the indulgence with which the Saracens treated those Christians who thus traversed their country, collected information concerning their towns, their administration, and their means of defence, at a period when Europe, after having lost its last strong hold in the Holy Land, was still full of the idea of new crusades. In fact, from the year 1291, when Ptolemais was lost, down to 1422, the year when Henry IV. of England died, these projects were constantly contemplated, although they were already foreign to the manners of the time; the spirit of adventure having spent itself in two centuries of war, and enterprises of that character having been found injurious to the interests of commerce.

After the loss of Ptolemais, Pope Nicolas IV. wrote to the Genoese and the Venetians, calling on them to terminate their dissensions, with a view to unite against the Mussulmans; and to the Templars and the Hospitallers, directing them to form but one order and to increase their numbers for the purpose of recovering the holy places. He also addressed letters to the bishops of Germany, and to all the Christian princes, to induce them to get up another crusade, and even to the Khan Argun,

to prevail on him to march against Syria.[a] At the commencement of the fourteenth century a chivalrous spirit animated the Genoese ladies: in order to defray the expenses of a new crusade, they sold their jewels, and thus equipped several vessels.[b] The council of Vienna, in 1312, and the exhortations of Pope Clement V., afforded every encouragement to a similar enterprise. Henry VII. and Philippe le Bel, and Edward of England, took a part in it, as well as a great number of barons. It is true that all these preparations threatened to produce no important consequences; that a part of the crusaders remained in port, while another portion set out, with the intention of speedily returning home; and that the sovereigns appear to have yielded obedience to the exhortations of the Church really for the purpose only of raising considerable subsidies amongst the clergy, under the pretext of preparing large armaments. But, in the mean time, the Saracens, who could not have been familiarly acquainted with the direction of men's minds at that period, must have deemed those distant preparations formidable; and as they heard only of councils, of bishops preaching through different countries, and of the activity which prevailed in the principal ports[c], they would have been

[a] Wilken and Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades;* Rainaldi, *Annales Ecclesiæ;* Abel Remusat, *Mémoires sur les Rélations des Princes Chrétiens avec les Empereurs Mongols.*

[b] Rainaldus gives the names of these heroines.

[c] I do not mention here the long series of works, the object of which was to persuade nations to join in the crusades, and to pro-

well warranted in interdicting Christians from entering or passing through their territory. On the contrary, they received them with the same toleration as before. At Alexandria the pilgrims had an inn where they were lodged; they proceeded thence to Damietta and Rosetta, followed the course of the Nile to Cairo, passed on to the Thebaid, the lakes of Natro, Sinai, then to Syria, and to the harbour of Jaffa, where they embarked for

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pose plans of operations upon data gathered by the pilgrims during their pious excursions. Of these works the Saracens could hardly have been ignorant. Amongst the number the most complete is that of Marino Sanuti, which he founded in some measure upon the reports of merchants, seamen, or pilgrims, whom he interrogated on their arrival at Venice. He had also travelled himself, and, with the assistance of ancient accounts of the country, he formed a system of crusades, and a plan of warfare, the first object of which was the conquest of Egypt, with a view to render it the grand magazine for provisions and stores of every description, and the basis of operations by means of which Syria might be conquered and preserved. This scheme was by no means novel, as Amaury, in 1162 and 1169, was led into his expedition by the opinion then generally prevailing, that Syria could never be preserved without possession of Egypt. At a subsequent period, Jean de Brienne landed at Damietta, in conformity with the decisions of the council of Lateran. "Then the resolution was confirmed in the council held at Laterap, that the Christian army should be recommended to take possession of Egypt." Oliv. Scholast. Historia Damiatina, cap. i. Although we have no report of the discussions which took place in the council of Louis IX. upon the plan of his crusade, nevertheless it is to be presumed that a determination was not taken to the same effect without weighing the pro and the con, especially after the two unfortunate attempts which we have already mentioned. Thus the merit of Sanuti is that he persevered in an opinion which this last attempt had rendered it more difficult for him to sustain. It may be mentioned as a proof of his sagacity, that the object of the French expedition to Egypt was the conquest of Syria, and that at the present day Mehemet Aly possesses the very means for the same object which Marino Sanuti foresaw would be possessed by the master of Egypt.

their own country. Lannoy himself, during the whole of his journey, in 1442,—the only object of which, as Mr. Webb ingeniously demonstrates, was to examine the country in a military point of view, and to prepare plans of a campaign,—traversed all Egypt and Syria without having occasion even once to complain of the treatment he received.

It must at the same time be admitted, that Christian travellers in the East did not enjoy complete liberty. The moment they arrived in port, a guard went on board, and took away their mainsail and rudder[a], as a security for the obedience of the crew and the payment of the duties.[b] Moreover, they had to pay two per cent. on the value of their property, besides a ducat per head; a sum which the cupidity of the Saracens occasionally doubled, as, for instance, in the time of Bernard. These duties having been paid,—not, perhaps, without some blows having been in the mean time inflicted on the strangers, as Breydenbach alleges,—they were conducted to the lodgings (*auberge*, or *okel*) of the pilgrims, or rather to what was then called the *fontegues*.[c] "Also," says Lannoy[d], "there are at Alexandria several Christians who reside within the town—especially Venetians, Genoese, and Ca-

[a] A question arose about the abandonment of this custom, in the treaty concluded in 1323 between Aboulsaca, sovereign of Tunis, and the King of Aragon, Art. 12., cited by Depping in his History of the Trade with the Levant, 1830.

[b] Frescobaldi speaks of this as a usual practice.

[c] *Fonde*, Joinville, and Ducange, the origin of the word *Fonda* (inn) still in use in Spain.

[d] See Lannoy, vol. xxi. de l'Archæologia, 1828.

talans — who have their *fontegues*, large and fine houses; and the Christians are shut up in them every night by the Saracens, who let them out again at an early hour in the morning. And in like manner they are shut up every Friday throughout the year, for two or three hours; that is to say, in the middle of the day, when the Saracens are at their principal service. There are also other lodgings for pilgrims." The pilgrim was placed under the protection of the chief merchants or the French consul, who gave him every assistance in the preparations for his journey: without paying exorbitantly, he found there provisions, asses, camels, and guides; and, in short, had fewer annoyances to encounter in his journey than a traveller of the present day.

The difficulties which pilgrims had then to conquer must have been very slight indeed, when we consider that they made, with the money they were permitted to retain, and under the protection they enjoyed, expeditions which in our time, notwithstanding the greater degree of civilisation introduced in the East, require an adventurous spirit, robust strength, and considerable pecuniary resources. Such condescension on the part of the Mussulmans towards Christians arose from two causes: from a love of the gain they acquired, which was important for a long time after the crusades — down, indeed, to the time of the Reformation, when the devotion that led to pilgrimages ceased to have influence; and, secondly, from a species of religious sympathy, which prompted the Mussulmans always to pay respect to pilgrims.

Two or three works were written at this period, the style of which is peculiarly engaging; the authors seem as if they were writing letters to their own families, to assure them that they were safe, and to give them an account of their proceedings. Two centuries afterwards, however, we have tedious descriptions of the country, which remind one of the droll title of a monastic work, entitled *De omnibus rebus et de quibusdam aliis*. Travellers who visited only a small part of the Holy Land, stopped for a while at Alexandria, Tunis, or Algiers, or in some port of Spain or the Adriatic, believed themselves to be not only entitled, but in some degree obliged, to give us a general description of the world at large, at the same time rendering it impossible for their readers to discover what was the particular route they had pursued themselves. One author inserts in his work, sometimes his letters and the answers he received to them, his poetry, his dissertations, and perhaps a treatise on Algebra. Another prefixes to his publication a pompous title, which, being printed partly in red, partly in black letters, announces to the learned that they will find in it an infinite number of novelties, physical experiments, philosophical lucubrations, chemical curiosities, and conversations of the most illustrious men of the age, besides secrets previously unknown connected with pleasure or health, commentaries on the works of famous painters, and whatever is to be found worthy of attention in the three parts of the globe.

Of all these works of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, there is not one specially dedicated to Arabia Petræa, although every author thinks that he has a right to speak of it, even if he had only travelled from Gaza to Baalbec, or from Suez to Sinai.* Good sense and truth seem to be wholly excluded from these works: besides being disfigured by fables, their charts and plans are ridiculously inaccurate when compared with the places of which they affect to give an idea. Such, for instance, is the view of Sinai which Neitzchuitz had engraved and inserted in his "Contemplation of the World;" such also are his designs of the Pyramids and of several Egyptian monuments which were published in other books of travels. One would hardly believe that it was possible, even with the most limited memory, to give such representations of so interesting a country. On the other hand, it is impossible to suppose that these authors were indebted for them to mere invention; the details of their narratives evidently show that they have visited the spots they have so wholly failed to represent.

The most valuable legacies they have left us are the descriptions of manners, and the relations of trifling daily occurrences, which they have not deprived of their natural effect by endeavouring to assign them too great a degree of importance. We

* Jean George Menkel says, in his excellent Bibliothèque of the greater part of these works, — "Many things are frequently mixed up with their narratives, which are insufferably tedious." Bibhoth. Hist. vol. i. part ii. p. 72. Leipsic, 1782.

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find amongst them, also, glimpses of the personal life of the writer, the facilities which he found for the accomplishment of his objects, as well as the difficulties which he experienced from the fanaticism excited by recollections of the crusades. One remark especially, which occurs to the reader, and which is the more striking as it results from all our researches in the East, is the slightness of the difference, or rather the resemblance, the perfect conformity, that exists between all the details of that period, and those of our own time. The visits to the chiefs of the country, the preparations for departure, the inconveniences of the journey, and a thousand other points of similarity, demonstrate the stationary nature of the usages and habits which form the general character of the East. It is to this period that the Arabian authors belong, and the diversified notions to be found in their descriptions, which in point of extent surpass the narratives of the most enterprising travellers. Such were the sources from which we derived our knowledge of Arabia Petræa, until it was visited by Seetzen, Niebuhr, Burckhardt, Volney, and Messrs. Banks, Irby and Mangles, to whose works I have already referred.

THE END.

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